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1891



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T H E
CONTROVERSIAL LETTERS
O F
JOHN WILKES, Esq.
The Rev. JOHN HORNE,
A N D
THEIR PRINCIPAL ADHERENTS;
WITH A SUPPLEMENT,
CONTAINING
MATERIAL ANONYMOUS PIECES,
: : : &c. : &c. : &c. : : :

L O N D O N,
PRINTED BY T. SHERLOCK,
For J. WILLIAMS, No. 38, Fleet-Street.

MDCCLXXI.

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BASE

TO THE READER.

THE following Sheets are intended to preserve, in correct order, a Controversy of the most interesting nature.— The selection of the *anonymous pieces*, the Editor flatters himself, will be allowed impartial and material.

He begs the readers to observe, that to those pieces the authors have neglected to date, he has annexed the date of the papers in which they first appeared, for ease of reference.

With respect to Mr. Horne's XIIth Letter, whether it is yet concluded is doubtful. From that Gentleman's letter to JUNIUS it may be inferred that it is not; but this publication has been already deferred too long to permit, and was grown too bulky to necessitate, any farther delay: Whatever, therefore, Mr. Horne may add, must be reserved for another Collection.

C O R R E C T I O N S .

Page—line

9—28, *dele at.*

43—19, *for never read seldom.*

144—16, *add the date June 8 to Mr. Wilkes's letter.*

162—10, *for give us read to give us.*

168—28, *for characters read character.*

191—16, *for I was talked read It was talked.*

197—28, *for Duns Scotus read Dun Scotus.*

217—27, *for faithful only services read faithful services, only.*

218— 6, *for to Mrs. — read to Mrs. Eyre.*

7, *after him add in the speech on that occasion.*

220—21, *for Lord S. read Lord Sandwich.*

236— 4, *for having read have.*

CONTROVERSIAL LETTERS,

&c. &c. &c.

an Account of the business transacted in Westminster-Hall, on the 31st of October 1770, relative to the Electors of Westminster instructing their Representatives to impeach Lord North, having been sent to the Public Advertiser by a Correspondent (supposed Mr. Horne), who declared himself ready to vouch its authenticity; Mr. Wilkes, disagreeing with that Correspondent in several Particulars, sent the following Letter to the same Paper, addressed

TO THE PRINTER.

Prince's Court, near Storey's Gate,
Westminster, Wednesday, Nov. 7.

S I R,

A S I had the honour of being the Chairman at the general meeting of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, on Wednesday last, and am likewise a member of the society at Appleby's, I think it my particular duty to correct several gross misrepresentations relative to the business of that day, which were first published in your paper

B

of last Friday; because your correspondent with art endeavours to impose on the public, by aff the merit of great accuracy in his account, a *clares himself ready to vouch its authenticity.* therefore call upon him to prove the following tions, and to attest under his hand the truth o he has advanced.

He says, " On last Wednesday fortnight, O the 17th, Mr. Wilkes desired a member of club at Appleby's to propose a meeting of the tors of Westminster. It was accordingly prop and agreed to by Mr. Wilkes, and about electors present. After which they came t following resolutions :

" 1. That the electors of Westminster be desi meet in Westminster-Hall on Wednesday, O

" 2. That John Wilkes, Esq. do then tak chair.

" 3. That the members for the city and libe Westminster be INSTRUCTED" (your corre dent, Sir, has given the word in capitals) " o present alarming situation of our affairs ; o violation of our rights at home, and the att our territories abroad."

" 4. That ~~two~~ gentlemen of the club at App do wait on the club at the Standard Tavern i fire their concurrence with these resolutions."

It is scarcely possible to imagine more mistake falsehoods than are to be found in these few Your correspondent says, that the society at Appl

came to the *resolution*, “ That the members for the
 “ city and liberty of Westminster be *INSTRUCTED*.”
 I assert that neither the word, nor the idea, is to be
 found in the *resolution*. I will transcribe the words
 of that *resolution*; but first I must remark, in justice
 to the society at Appleby’s, that the words *instruction*
 or *instructed* were not even mentioned; but, without
 prescribing any mode of redress, that society left it
 at large to the body of the electors to determine for
 themselves, and only entreated them to assemble, that
 they might *consider what farther measures are expedient in the present alarming state of public affairs*.
 Your correspondent has made them insolently dictate
 to so respectable a body as the electors of Westminster;
 whereas they said that they only wished to meet
 their friends and brethren, to *consider* with them
 what ought to be done in this important crisis.

The words of the *resolution* are,

“ October 10, 1770.

“ It was this day moved by Mr. Churchill, and
 “ seconded, and unanimously resolved, that the wor-
 “ thy electors of this city and liberty be desired to
 “ meet in Westminster-Hall on Wednesday the 31st
 “ instant, at eleven o’clock in the forenoon, to con-
 “ sider what farther measures are expedient in the
 “ present alarming state of public affairs, both with
 “ respect to the invasion of the sacred rights and li-
 “ berties of the people at home, and the attack of
 “ our territories abroad.”

Your correspondent says, that it was " On last Wednesday fortnight, Oct. 17," whereas the above date shews, that the *resolution* was agreed to a week earlier, " On Wednesday, October the 10th," which was as much time as could be given before the commencement of the term.

Your correspondent, Sir, likewise asserts that another *resolution* was, " That two gentlemen of the club at Appleby's do wait on the club at the Standard Tavern;" whereas the society at Appleby's desired the assistance and concurrence of *all* the members. The two *resolutions* following that I have transcribed are,

" Resolved, that John Wilkes, Esq. *one of the legal representatives of the county of Middlesex, and an elector of this city, be desired to attend the said meeting, and to take the chair.*

" Resolved, that the said *resolutions* be communicated to the gentlemen of the Standard Tavern by a *committee of the whole house*, and that the Rev. Dr. Wilson be desired to attend the said committee."

At this meeting *eleven* gentlemen attended, and I was called to the chair. Oct. 17, *nineteen* gentlemen of the club were at Appleby's, when it was *resolved*, " That a committee of the members of this society, who are electors of Westminster, do wait upon the society of the Standard Tavern, Leicester-Fields, tomorrow, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon."

The assertion, " That Mr. Wilkes desired a member of the club at Appleby's to propose a meeting of the Electors of Westminster," is equally ill

founded with the rest of what I have quoted. The proposition came originally from the Rev. Dr. Wilson; altho' it afterwards met with my entire approbation. I have now, Sir, finished the account of this business so far as it relates to the society at Appleby's. You will judge what credit in matters of fact is to be given to your correspondent. I shall only add, that if your correspondent be a member of that society, I think him inexcusable to the public and the society for his many gross mistakes. He might in a quarter of an hour have known the truth, by having recourse to the *best evidence*, the club-book at Appleby's. The public have a right to truth, and every imposition on mankind ought to be detected and exposed. I summon your correspondent to justify his account at the bar of the public, as he *declares himself ready to vouch its authenticity*.

I now desire your leave, Sir, to state the rest of this business, as far as I was concerned:

On Tuesday, October the 30th, many gentlemen of the two clubs met at the Standard Tavern. Sir Robert Bernard was voted into the chair. Mr. Connell then rose and moved, That it should be proposed the following day in Westminster-Hall, that *instructions should be given their members to impeach Lord North*. Mr. Ellis seconded that motion. Mr. Sawbridge strongly opposed it, and recommended a *remonstrance*. I gave the motion for the *instructions* all the support I could. The debate was long, and carried on between Mr. Sawbridge and myself with the greatest

temper and candor, to the satisfaction of every gentleman present. No man, Sir, can honour Mr. Sa-
bridge more than I do, for every public and priv-
virtue which constitutes a great and amiable char-
ter. On taking the opinion of that meeting, *twen-*
eight were for *instructing*, and *ten* for *remonstrating*.

Mr. Ellis afterwards declared that he would move
for the *impeachment*, on the next day. A committee
was then named, and ordered to withdraw immedi-
ately to prepare *instructions*. I was called to the
chair of that committee, and I avow having dra-
up the *instructions for the impeachment of Lord Nor-*
in which my hand and heart perfectly concurred;
I think him a weak, wicked, and despotic minist-
and that, from the two important posts he now fills
he must be considered as the *ostensible* prime minist-
and the chief instrument of the tyranny we gro-
under at home and in the colonies. The *instructi-*
were read at that meeting, and approved.

I was the next day called to the chair in Westm-
ster-Hall. After I had mentioned the business of that
particular day, I asked, *if any gentleman had a propo-*
sition to make. Mr. Ellis having been taken sud-
denly ill, could not attend. Mr. Connell rose, and
moved the *instructions for the impeachment of Lord*
North. The motion was seconded by Mr. Churchill.
Mr. Connell delivered me, as chairman, the proposed
instructions, which I read as well as a weak and broken
voice would permit. A Mr. More then, with a voice
as loud as a speaking-trumpet, occasioned no sin-

confusion, by crying out with great passion, *What impeachment? what impeachment?* I desired him to approach the chair, which he did, and to inform himself and others more fully by reading aloud the paper put into my hand. He complied with my request, in such a manner as to create alternately in the audience laughing, hissing, and clapping. Mr. Sawbridge then, in a manly and spirited way, opposed the *instructions*, and recommended a *remonstrance*. Other gentlemen spoke, but could not be heard. It appeared to me that the majority of hands were for a *remonstrance*, which I accordingly declared to be the opinion of ~~that~~ meeting. A committee was appointed to prepare it, and all the usual forms observed. I confined myself through the whole day to my duty as chairman. After the business was finished, Mr. Sawbridge and many of the gentlemen returned to the King's Arms in New-Palace-Yard. I declared there, "That I always should most cheerfully submit my opinion to the majority of my friends, but I feared the present *remonstrance* would have no more effect than the former, and be only another paper kite for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." The *remonstrance* I signed as chairman, as soon as it was engrossed, according to the order of the general meeting. I have, Sir, a real pleasure in finding out, and following, the opinion of the people. I will through life be faithful to their cause. I firmly and sincerely believe *the voice of the people* to be *the voice of God*. I wish always to hear it clear and distinct.

When I do, I will obey it, as a divine call, with spirit and alacrity, fearless of every consequence, and dutifully submitting my own private opinion. When the justice of the House of Commons shall admit me to my seat for Middlesex, I will there deliver the sentiments of the majority of my worthy constituents, as far as I know them, not those of one individual. These, Sir, are principles which have taken possession of my heart, and shall appear to mankind by their influence on every part of my public conduct.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

On November 12, appeared the following address

To Mr. W I L K E S.

S I R,

I FIND myself in a situation which most of your friends have at some time or other experienced. It is painful to me, but not surprizing. I have long foreseen it, and most earnestly endeavoured to avoid it. You are in possession of my name, and needed not to have called for it in the public papers. When I gave the Printer the account of the proceedings at Westminster, I ordered him to acquaint you with it, and on the day of its appearance in the paper I avowed it to yourself at a meeting of some freeholders at the Denmark Tavern, and I offered to give you a justifi-

fication of it, if you would afford me an opportunity by retiring with me after the meeting should be over.

I shall take it as a favour if you will not insist on a public justification; for tho' I agree with you that "the public have a right to truth," yet I must confess there are some "impositions on mankind" which I would fain be excused from the office of "detecting and exposing."

To which Mr. Wilkes thus replied:

TO the AUTHOR of the Letter to Mr. WILKES.

Prince's Court, near Storey's Gate,
Westminster, Monday, Nov. 12.

S I R,

YOU are pleased to say, in your letter of this day, "When I gave the Printer the account of the "proceedings at Westminster, I ordered him to acquaint you with it, and on the day of its appearance in the paper I avowed it to yourself at "a meeting of some freeholders at the Denmark Tavern, and I offered to give you a justification of "it, if you would afford me an opportunity by retiring with me after the meeting should be over." If you did order the Printer to acquaint me with your name, he did not comply with your order. When I saw him the next day, I said that I guessed at the author of that very erroneous *account*, but thought it at an improper question to ask *him*. The Printer only smiled. At the Denmark Tavern

I complained to yourself of that *false account*, declared that I would answer it. You did not answer it, nor did you mention a word of *justification*. I replied, "Where do you go from hence?" I answered, "To my daughter at Fulham. Dr. Wilke's chariot waits."

You are pleased to say, "I shall take it as a favour if you will not insist on a public justification." Retract then your errors. I desire every occasion to submit the whole of my conduct to the public. You declared yourself *ready to vouch authenticity of your account*. I expect you now to do it, or to confess your mistakes. *The very day as the publication* a correspondent told you in the Saturday paper, that he had *examined the club-book at Appleby's*, found your account *false*, and called upon you for a *justification*. You ought to have informed yourself directly in the same *authentic* manner, you are a member of Appleby's. Candor and a *cred* love of truth should likewise have made you before this acknowledge to the world how greatly you were mistaken, and ask pardon for the *impression* of which you were guilty.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Another account (too uninteresting to be inserted here) of this business was published, on the 15th of November, in the Name of a Mr. Edridge (a poi

terer, and a member of the societies at Appleby's and the Standard Tavern), which differed in some particulars from Mr. Wilkes's, on the appearance whereof that gentleman wrote as follows :

TO THE PRINTER.

Prince's Court, near Storey's Gate,
Westminster, Thursday, Nov. 15.

*Alas me ! what mighty perils wait
The man who meddles with a state,
Whether to strengthen, or oppose !
False are his friends, and firm his foes :*

SO sung that incomparable poet and patriot, *Charles Churchill*. I have experienced this in some instances during the life of my great associate, and more since his lamented death. The baseness and treachery of subtle, designing and insidious friends, by whom the openness of a frank nature has been long duped, is exceedingly *painful, but not surprizing*, if I may borrow the words of your *correspondent*. Such men I hold infinitely less dangerous as open enemies than as professed friends. I have found that their loss, if indeed it can be called a loss, has been more than made up to me by the increased ardor, attachment, and affection of those who remained. Desertion has thinned the ranks, but the phalanx has been stronger, because more compact and united.

Your correspondent, Sir, who declared himself on the second of this month *READY to vouch the authen-*

ticity of his *account* of the Westminster proc has not yet advanced a single word of *justi* although he has many of dark abuse. I c him to speak out in plain terms, to state i fairly and fully, and to set his name to the he brings. He shall then have an answer; and that truth and I are a match for any two.

I have just read the long letter of Mr. I His assertions are notoriously untrue; but they admit of such a compleat detection from *wri* *dence* as the fallhoods of your other correspond are they of equal importance. I appeal to E son and Mr. Churchill for the unfair state of t verfaction he had with those two gentlemen.

I enclose to you, Sir, extracts from the clu at Appleby's.

“ *Appleby's, 14th Nov.*

(COPY) “ Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, i thanks of this meeting be g
John Wilkes, Esq. for his vine
of the proceedings of this society
the *false account* given in the
Advertiser.

“ Ordered, that a copy of this resolution be by the chairman, and sent to Mr. Wilkes.

S. BARRELL, chair

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILK

came to the *resolution*, “ That the members for the
 “ city and liberty of Westminster be INSTRUCTED.”
 I assert that neither the word, nor the idea, is to be
 found in the *resolution*. I will transcribe the words
 of that *resolution* ; but first I must remark, in justice
 to the society at Appleby’s, that the words *instruction*
 or *instructed* were not even mentioned ; but, without
 prescribing any mode of redress, that society left it
 at large to the body of the electors to determine for
 themselves, and only entreated them to assemble, that
 they might *consider what farther measures are exped-*
ient in the present alarming state of public affairs.
 ✓ Your correspondent has made them insolently dictate
 to so respectable a body as the electors of Westmin-
 ster ; whereas they said that they only wished to meet
 their friends and brethren, to *consider* with them
 what ought to be done in this important crisis.

The words of the *resolution* are,

“ October 10, 1770.

“ It was this day moved by Mr. Churchill, and
 “ seconded, and unanimously resolved, that the wor-
 “ thy electors of this city and liberty be desired to
 “ meet in Westminster-Hall on Wednesday the 31st
 “ instant, at eleven o’clock in the forenoon, to con-
 “ sider what farther measures are expedient in the
 “ present alarming state of public affairs, both with
 “ respect to the invasion of the sacred rights and li-
 “ berties of the people at home, and the attack of
 “ our territories abroad.”

always been to recriminate ; on the contrary, I in this letter confine myself to the charges brought against me : In a future letter I will explain the nature and causes of the differences between us : ' ought to be made public, because the objects are private.

The *Westminster business* I shall reserve for my next letter, because it is one of the pretended causes of difference. The other charges I think are, That " I subscribed to the society of the Bill of Rights " but never paid one shilling."—2. That " I received amazing sums for Mr. Serjeant Glynne's elections, ten guineas each from most of my friends."—3. That " I have received subscriptions for the widow Bigby's appeal."—4. That " I have received subscriptions for Mr. Gilpin's trial."—5. That " I have received subscriptions for the affair of the weavers in Spittlefields."

These five charges I understand to be of a particular nature. After which there is a charge upon me of private fraud in a story about Mr. Foote's pamphlet and Messrs. Davis the booksellers.

These particular charges I undertake to answer ; if there is any other that I have omitted to take notice of, you will please to remind me of it ; if there is any other that you have omitted, you have free leave to bring it.

FIRST, I never did subscribe any thing to the society of the Bill of Rights. It is true that in the accounts of that society there will be found five guineas

of my money ; but these five guineas were paid by me at the moment of subscribing them, at the last subscription made at the King's Arms Tavern in Cornhill, some time before the establishment of the society at the London Tavern. Nor do I recollect at any time to have subscribed any money without instantly paying down the small but numerous sums I have contributed. These poor five guineas were received, and the account of them brought into the society by Mr. B——.

The SECOND charge is " The amazing sums received by me for Mr. Glynn's Election ; ten guineas each from most of his friends." The subject of this charge no doubt puts me in a delicate and difficult situation, because the particulars of it ought to be discussed only by Mr. Glynn and the subscribers ; and I am bound to be very careful that whilst I justify myself I do not say any thing which may give pain or displeasure to others. However, I think I can say enough on this head to satisfy the most scrupulous without hurting the most tender. I must premise that I have always carefully avoided three things ; I mean the being placed upon any public occasion in any situation of honour, trust, or profit, from which my name, and my station, and my inclination equally dissuaded me. I have been regularly and indefatigably the drudge of almost every popular election, prosecution, and public business,—but never the object of any one. For three years past my time has been entirely and my income almost wholly applied to public

measures. But though with great caution, and sometimes obstinacy, I have taken care never to be the chairman of any company, nor the ostensible manager or conductor of any matter ; yet I have not been able to avoid being on three occasions the receiver of money. One of them was the election of Mr. Glynn. But there were no amazing sums in the case. The ten-guinea subscription amounted to 262 l. 10 s. of which, for want of a more diligent collector than myself, only 220 l. 10 s. have yet been received ; and that sum has been paid away long ago either by me, or by Mr. B——, the treasurer of that subscription. Mr. Glynn and the subscribers must examine and settle that business, and if they have no objection I am sure I shall have none, to lay each particular article before the public.—And now I have answered this charge as far as you have brought it, I desire to strengthen the charge, by informing you, Sir, that there was another subscription for Mr. Glynn's election. (Indeed the ten guineas were not subscribed for the expences of Mr. GLYNN in his election, nor was any subscription for that purpose intended ; the ten guineas were subscribed to pay the expences of some dinners which about twenty of us agreed to give to the freeholders in different parts of the county in the summer, whilst Mr. Glynn was on the circuit.) ——The second subscription was made only after the riot on the first day of election, in order to pay the additional expences incurred by that most villainous action, it seeming very cruel and unjust that so barbarous and wicked

a contrivance should increase the expence to Mr. Serjeant Glynn of a contest already sufficiently expensive, and which had been carried on about seven months against all the powers and influence of government.

This second subscription amounted to 1401 l. 981 l. of which have been paid ; 420 l. still remain unpaid. Of this money 400 l. were paid into the hands of Mr. Vaughan, the treasurer on this occasion ; 340 l. 10 s. were paid into the hands of Mess. Lowry and Co. bankers, in Lombard-street : 240 l. 10 s. were collected by me from time to time as the subscribers fell in my way, and were paid again by me as occasion and opportunity offered : I likewise drew on Mess. Lowry and Co. for the money in their hands, with which I paid the demands on Mr. Glynn as far as the money would reach them. On this point I can only say as before, that if Mr. Glynn and the subscribers have no objection, I shall have none to lay each particular article of receipt and payment before the public.

The THIRD charge is, " That I have received subscriptions for the widow Bigby's appeal." The widow Bigby's appeal was not brought by my direction ; I do not mean that I disapprove it ; I commend the measure, and if I had been applied to, should have advised it. I think the pardon granted to the murderers of Bigby was a horrid one, I think the same of the pardon granted to M'Quirk, and I do not believe either of them lawful. Mr. *Stamford*, the attorney who was employed by the widow, applied to a gentleman of character and fortune in the

city for assistance ; the gentleman brought Mr. Stamford to me, who told me what he had done and what he intended to do ; but he declared himself unable to bear the expence and go on with the appeal, unless he was assisted immediately with money. I undertook the matter, made myself answerable to him, and assisted him with money, and when I saw my friends, I applied to them for their help, because I was unequal to the burden alone. I did not indeed foresee that any member of the House of Commons would move for leave to bring in a bill to take away the right of appeal from the people in cases of murder ; but I did foresee that Lord Mansfield would make such a motion and such a bill unnecessary ; and that he would by studied delays and difficulties most effectually take away the remedy of appeal, by shewing us that the most eminent counsel at the bar are not able to proceed in such a course as to bring it to a trial : And I supposed that he would, as he has done, so protract the matter by shifting his difficulties and his doubts, that either the proceedings on the appeal should be dropped from the enormity of the expence, or the obstinate virtue of the poor appellant have time to be cooled and corrupted. I expected only to shew, what has been shewn, that Lord Mansfield, who is so dexterous at removing difficulties and shortening the way to a conviction for libel, according to the *modern* method of prosecution, is as dexterous in finding out or creating obstacles to a trial in the *ancient* mode of appeal for murder, which was formerly the

subject's *only* remedy *. And for this purpose I was willing, and did declare my willingness to bear, if it was necessary, the whole expence of the prosecution. The few friends to whom I spoke on this occasion were of the same sentiments; and they contributed towards the appeal. I afterwards found that good man, Sir ———, was as warm in this business as myself; at his desire I waited on him, and as he was anxious to be a sharer in the burden, I sometime after sent a gentleman to him with a list of the subscribers, and an account of the money paid to the attorney, and solicited him earnestly to be the treasurer on this occasion. Sir ———, for many reasons, excused himself. Very lately this office has been kindly accepted by Mr. T——ke. He has the list and the account, and the trouble of collecting the subscriptions. I do not desire any part of it to be kept secret. I have received 110 l. 16 s. and I have paid to the attorney 150 l. and I have never been less in advance than I am at present, which is 39 l. 4 s.

The FOURTH charge is, "That I have received subscriptions for Mr. Gillam's trial." A copy of his indictment was *illegally* granted to Mr. Gillam,

* Something more too has been shewn; i. e. that the suggestions on which the pardon for the Kennedies was procured, are false; and that those who procured it still know them to be guilty, or they would not so obstinately and corruptly have opposed a fresh trial on the appeal, which was the only method to justify the pardon in an authentic manner, by producing the new circumstances which manifested their innocence.

in order to intimidate and disgrace another gentleman and myself. When the request was made, the judges were at first divided : Mr. Justice Aston and Mr. Recorder saw no objection to it, and they at last overpersuaded the Lord Chief Baron Parker : Mr. Justice Gould refused it to the last. Notwithstanding this copy of the indictment, I have never hesitated to declare that I did promote and assist that prosecution to the utmost of my power : but I did not at any time receive a farthing from any person on the account of Mr. Gillam's trial, or any thing relative to it, and I do assert that there was no subscription for it. If you, Sir, can discover a single person who paid any subscription to me, or to any other on that account, it is your business to name him ; otherwise we shall know how to name you.

The FIFTH charge is, " That I have received subscriptions for the affair of the weavers in Spittlefields." I never did receive any subscription for the affair of the weavers in Spittlefields ; there never was any subscription on that account, or on any other relative to the weavers in Spittlefields. I took no small pains, with other gentlemen, to save the lives of some innocent men ; but though one was petitioned for by the lord-mayor and all the aldermen who sat on the bench at his trial, with the strongest circumstances in his favour, and though another was unanimously and strongly recommended to mercy by the jury, they were both hanged.—Their crime was not murder.—I believe we had better success in our endeavours to stop

the farther merciless persecution of that unhappy body of men; but what we did was done without collecting money or subscription; and I do not believe that any money was paid, except twenty pounds which I gave out of my own pocket towards procuring counsel for one *Baker*, a journeyman weaver, whom Lord Mansfield had refused to admit to bail till term-time, and till after hearing counsel; although the same Lord Mansfield confessed that he was committed on a charge for an offence bailable at the very first view, and which did not admit even the shadow of a doubt. If any person did subscribe on this account to me or to any other, it is your business to name him.

Thus, Sir, I have answered your five charges concerning subscriptions. Three of them (one said to be left unpaid by me, and two said to have been received by me) are totally false; there never were any such subscriptions. The other two, I hope, I have likewise answered to your *dissatisfaction*. Though the proof of such charges ought to rest upon him who brings them, yet I think I may venture safely to take even the opposite proof on myself; for I trust, however disagreeable it is to gentlemen to put their names in the papers, I trust Mr. Richard Oliver, who is treasurer to the society of the Bill of Rights, and Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and Mr. T—ke will do me that justice which is due to me, and add the authority of their names to the truth of what I have related.

But, Sir, there is one subscription more that I ~~have~~ ^{me} received, and with which you have not charged ^{you} me. I mean a subscription of 94 l. 17 s. 9 d. raised for ^{you} in my neighbourhood, which I have brought in to the society very lately, at the last meeting but one at the London Tavern.

This subscription I did not collect; it was only conveyed by me to the society. It was collected publicly in an open book, by Mr. B. H. Mr. B. Mr. D. Mr. H. of my parish, and this book was brought back to me only the day before I delivered it in; However, before this subscription, I advanced in the payment of demands upon you 38 l. 8 d. which I am still to receive, and of the subscription itself seven guineas still remain unpaid to me.

Your LAST charge is, that I have received money for different publications, and you call upon me to lay before the public "an account of the profits on my vamped up sermon, Mr. Foote's apology, Mr. Missing's letter, &c. asserting at the same time that I defrauded Mr. Foote of 40 l. or 50 l. which I took from Mess. Davis the booksellers; and you bid me give you the evidence of Mr. Davis, *both the father and the son*, and Mr. Foote's justification of my disinterested friendship to him."

Have you forgotten in how unmanly a manner you lately received the very manly behaviour of Mr. Alderman Trecothick, when you were charged with the illiberal anonymous abuse cast on that gentleman in "*the annals of his mayoralty*?"—ANNALS of three

or four MONTHS!—If you thought yourself justified in refusing to acknowledge to the injured person an anonymous writing, how can you expect that I should give you an answer about pamphlets that bear other mens names? It is true I have always avowed whatever I have written anonymously, whenever any person has complained that he was injured; as in the cases of Sir John Gibbons, Sir W. B. Proctor, Mr. Onslow, &c. it is my general rule when I am treated fairly; but the rule does not extend to you; for in those pamphlets, even if I had written them, there is no reflection upon you: When you attribute to me the pamphlets that bear the names of other men, and call for an answer, you are impertinent to me and injurious to them. Perhaps some other person may think it as probable that you should have written the sermon, as that I should have written on subjects of law and surgery. I know indeed how you will solve that difficulty, by declaring that there is as little divinity in the one, as law and surgery in the others. Sir, I shall only answer you what you must already suppose, viz. that of all the pamphlets I ever wrote in my life I have regularly received the profits; and of all the pamphlets which I may hereafter write, I shall, if I please, regularly receive the profits. But that you may not envy me the *amazing* sums I have likewise received on that score, I will tell you exactly to what they amount; and that I might be exact I have settled accounts which were never before settled. Of all the things I ever wrote in my life the profits amount

to 66l. 4s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. not sufficient to furnish you with two months claret.

For the fraud with which you charge me on Mr. Foote, through Mess. Davis, the booksellers, it is a fallshood, and you ought to be told so in coarser language. You bid me give you the evidence of Mr. Davis, *both the father and the son*, and of Mr. Foote. You who bring the charge shou'd take the *onus probandi* ! I can only give my own evidence. They must, if they please, give theirs for themselves. But why this *judaism*, Sir ? Why will not Mr. Davis the father satisfy you ; Why visit the sins of the fathers upon the children ?

Sir, I will be bold to say, the farther and the more particularly you sift into every part of my conduct the more honourable it will appear ; for very many circumstances will come out necessarily in my defence which could not otherwise have been mentioned without boasting ; and I defy all your art and all your abilities to make me, whilst I am honest, either detestable or ridiculous. However, you must now do something for your credit's sake : at least be witty, at least entertain the public : Scraps of verses will not altogether answer the purpose. — *Ab me !* is no argument ; quotations are not proofs. But if you will quote an *incomparable poet* you should take some of his *incomparable poetry*. With such a choice of beauties before you to select the passages with which you have lately patched your prose, convinces me that no friend can escape you ; and that living or dead

is your study and endeavour to shew, if you can,
their weak sides to the public.

JOHN HORNE.

Mr. WILKES'S REPLY.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

Prince's Court, near Storey's Gate,
Westminster, Monday, Jan. 21.

S I R,

I called upon you, under my hand, on the tenth
of November last, to justify the account you had given
the Public Advertiser of the *Westminster* business,
the authenticity of which you declared yourself *READY*
to vouch. You are pleased in the letter you have ad-
dressed to me on the 16th of this month to say, " The
Westminster business I shall reserve for my future letter." I
likewise, Sir, declare that I reserve myself for this
future letter, that I may have only one trouble to an-
swer at the same time the feeble, languid, and weary
ages of your last, so far as I am concerned, and also
the future letter. I leave all *anonymous* writers to de-
fend their own works. I will be answerable for every
production of this pen, which shall never write a line
which will not justify.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Testimonies in vindication of Mr. Horne were inserted soon after the appearance of the above defence, by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Alderman Oliver, Mr. Tooke, and Mess. Davis [see Supplement]; and here the controversy (except under anonymous signatures) rested till May 1771, soon after Mr. Wilkes had declared his intention to stand candidate for the office of sheriff; when Mr. Horne revived it, and it has since been continued in the following order.

L E T T E R I.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

S I R,

YOU have said, "The public have a right to truth, and every imposition on mankind ought to be detected and exposed." I am not entirely of that opinion: I think there are certain seasons when some particular truths ought to be withheld; and my lips should have been for ever closed on the subject of your real character and conduct, if you could by any motives have been persuaded, or by any art or contrivance been compelled, to continue a voluntary or involuntary instrument of good to your country. I have long been, with others, struggling to make it your interest to be honest, and founded all my hopes not on your principles but common sense. At length I despair of any good from you, and apprehend much mischief: I think it

therefore my duty to be no longer silent ; and I come to an explanation without any apprehension of disgrace ; because I know that tho' *Wilkes and Liberty* may for a while bear down every thing before them in the street, yet as far as they are not connected by public principles, they will surely be separated in the closet. But whatever may be the opinions of any persons concerning my conduct, I shall not alter it : their uninformed opinions affect me little : I know my own situation ; I must ever remain a poor and a private man, and can never be a candidate for the favour or confidence of the public. The voice of the people is not the voice of God to me, tho' (in the fair meaning of the word *people*) I have never thought it wrong ; but it is the voice within me that shall ever be the guide of my actions.

It is not my intention here to open any account with you on the score of private character : in that respect the public have kindly passed an act of insolvency in your favor ; you have delivered up your all, and no man can fairly now make any demand. I blame your public conduct, and never had a difference with you on any other subject : and though it has suited your selfish politics to insinuate and pretend some private pique between us, yet you have not ventured, even anonymously, to suggest any particular cause of my dissatisfaction.

That I may be well understood, it is necessary to give a short history of the commencement, progress, and conclusion of the intercourse between us : and

this I will begin to do in my next ; not for my own justification, for I could be well contented to leave each man to his opinion concerning me ; but that the people at large, to whose safety and happiness it is important, may be better able to form their judgment how far they ought and how far they ought not to support you ; and that they may perceive your general professions and protestations to be like those of last Wednesday's Speech, equally calculated to mislead and impose, and to which every particular act as well of *your* opposition as of *his* government is a flat contradiction.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

S I R,

Prince's Court, May 15.

I HAVE waited with impatience ever since November for the justification of your account of the *Westminster* business, in the very preface of which you advanced the falsehood, that you were *READY to vouch the authenticity of it*. I called upon you in print the day after its publication. In your letter of Jan. 16 you declared, " the Westminster business I shall reserve for my future letter." Another letter now appears, which neither mentions, nor promises, any thing on that subject. Now you trifle with the public ; before you dared to impose.

You say, " it is not my intention here to open " any account with you on the score of private cha-

“ racter : In that respect the public have kindly
 “ passed an act of insolvency in your favour.” I be-
 lieve indeed you will not chuse *to open any account on
 score of private character.* A gentleman in holy
 orders, whose hand appears to testify his belief of the
 articles of the church of England, the least moral, the
 least conscientious of men, whose life has passed in a
 constant, direct opposition to the purity and precepts
 of the Gospel, whose creed from the first article in it
 to the last is known to be *non credo*, such a person
 with wonderful prudence chuses *not to open any ac-
 count on the score of private character.* I do not
 mean; Sir, to be impertinent enough to a public,
 whom I respect, to descend to those particulars of
 private life, in which they are not interested, either
 to accuse you, or to defend myself. The frailties,
 of which I have repented, I will not justify. I will
 not even plead with Horace,

Nec luisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum ;

but I hope to redeem and bury in oblivion every past
 folly by great and virtuous actions, by real services to
 my country.

Your letter of yesterday contains no charge, al-
 though it promises many. Every one shall be fully
 answered. I have only to desire, that your future
 letter, or letters, may appear before Midsummer-day,
 because it is possible that by the favour of the Livery
 of London I may after that time be wholly engaged in
 preparing for the duties of a very important office,

and the faithful discharge of the *Sheriff's oath*, not that, which you *falsified*.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

THE motives of my conduct, and the nature of our intercourse (for it cannot be called a connection), will best appear from the situation of each of us at it's commencement. Your motives will appear as plainly in its progress and conclusion.

When your troubles began I was in France. I returned to England towards the end of the year 1764. Shortly after, by the interest of a neighbouring gentleman, with whose son I had travelled, I received a promise from Mr. Levinz, late receiver-general of the customs, that I should speedily be appointed one of the chaplains to his majesty, through the nominal application of the duke of ———, with a prospect of such other particular preferment as was sufficient to satisfy my wishes.

I was quickly informed of all the political transactions in England during my absence. My expectations and opposite connexions were not so strong in me as those principles which all who know me

know I always professed, long before there was a probability that the times would ever call them out into practice. In this situation, I did not hesitate one moment about my conduct, but instantly declared my sentiments very freely ; and during my short stay in England contributed my mite to the public cause by publishing whatever essays, hints, or intelligence I thought might be useful. Among other things, I had written a pamphlet, which one popular bookseller, after printing, declined to publish. I applied to Mr. Cotes, with whose name only I was then acquainted, as a person most likely to direct me to a bold publisher. Such a one was found ; and both Mr. Cotes and the publisher must acknowledge that the only stipulations between us were, that my name should remain a secret, unless the pamphlet was called in question : in that case the publisher had his choice either to be indemnified by me, or to give up my name for his own security, if he did not chuse to risk the consequences of the prosecution.

In the year 1765 another neighbouring gentleman applied to me to go to Italy with his son : I embraced his offer. Passing through Paris, I delivered some letters to you from Mr. Cotes ; amongst others, one of those letters from Mr. Onslow, which you have since published. Though this was the first time we ever saw each other, you exacted from me, with very earnest entreaty, a promise of correspondence. I thought you at that time sincerely public-spirited, and a man of honour ; I mean that sort of honour

which, though it does not restrain from bad, prevents men from being guilty of mean actions. I wrote to you from Montpellier; and lest from my appearance you should mistake my situation, and expect considerable services from me, I thought it proper to inform you, that I was only a poor country clergyman, whose situation, notwithstanding his zeal would never enable him to perform any considerable service either to you or the public. Having told you my profession, I disclaimed in a joking manner those vices which, from the dependent situation of it's professors, are too frequently attendant on it—I mean hypocrisy, servility; and an abject attention to private interest. Receiving no answer, I did not repeat my folly: and upon a second visit to you at Paris, in my return from Italy to England in the year 1767, I saw reasons sufficient never more to trust you with a single line; for I found that all the private letters of your friends were regularly passed in a book, and read over indiscriminately, not only to your friend and acquaintance, but to every visitor. In this second visit at Paris you reproached me for not keeping my promise of correspondence, and swore you had not received my letter. I was very well contented, tho' I did not believe your excuse, and hugged myself in the reflection that I had furnished you with only one opportunity of treachery. This letter you copied some months, and shewed it about to numbers of people with a menace of publication if I dared to interrupt you. And yet you cannot pretend to justify

yourself by saying, that it contains any promises which have not been abundantly fulfilled. So far from promising assistance, if I have any memory, it declares an inability to assist. You will not say that I courted you in your prosperity, and forsook you in adversity ; you will not say that I have been ungrateful, or that I ever received any favours at your hands. I found you in the most hopeless state : an outlaw ; plunged in the deepest distress ; overwhelmed with debt and disgrace ; forsaken by all your friends, and shunned by every thing that called itself a gentleman, at a time when very honest men who could distinguish between you and your cause, and who feared no danger, yet feared the ridicule attending a probable defeat. Happily we succeeded, and I leave you by repeated elections the legal Representative of Middlesex, an Alderman of London, and about thirty thousand pounds richer than when first I knew you ; myself by many degrees poorer than I was before ; and I pretend to have been a little instrumental in all these changes of your situation.

I make no other reflection on your behaviour respecting my letter, than barely to say that those who shall attempt to palliate or justify it, will want a justification themselves. Publish it however when you will. I am confident, as indeed I have likewise been assured by many to whom you have shewn it, that there is nothing in the letter of which I need to be ashamed, unless there are any compliments to

you ; of every thing of that kind your sub-
conduct has indeed made me most heartily asha-

JOHN HOR

To Mr. JOHN WILKE

L E T T E R III.

S I R,

MY first employment on my return to E
was to reconcile you with Mr. Cotes, whom I
you treated in his misfortunes with a barbarous
titude : And at Paris I explained to you my sen-
on the subject, as freely as a stranger could
wished not to offend you.

From this time till your arrival in England
out hints in the papers of your intention to offer
self a candidate at the ensuing general election
endeavoured, with as much art as I was ma-
to let them be just strong enough to make them
wished you well suppose the event possible,
being so strong as to make those who feared
event suppose it probable.

From the time I left you at Paris in 1767
no communication with you of any kind wh-
nor did I upon your arrival in England in 176
pay you a visit, till it was very evident you h
your election in the city. Then indeed I went
because I knew I could be useful to you in Mid
and I did then and do still think that there

method by which I could do greater service to the public, than by espousing your cause; which the weakness and wickedness of our court had made, to a certain degree, the cause of every Englishman.

Besides some credible information which I had received since I first saw you concerning your character, and the danger which my second visit had shewn me there was in your correspondence, a particular transaction had made me forbear any communication with you, though my sentiments of your cause remained unaltered.—In October 1766, you came over to England privately: My brother-in-law, Mr. Wildman, accidentally met you in the street near his own house in Argyle-Buildings, in company with your brother Mr. Heaton Wilkes: Mr. Wildman expressing his surprize to see you, you told him you were distressed to find some place where you might safely lay hid from fear of the outlawry: He offered you his own house; where you stayed till you went back again to France. You represented to him your situation in France, which made it proper for you to endeavour by little presents, &c. to please your friends there to whom you had obligations; and requested him to procure for you certain articles, to the value of forty pounds, and to send them directed for your friend Monsieur *Sainte Foy* at Paris; to whose hands you said they would come without difficulty, examination, or interruption, he being secretary to the French minister, and *great treasurer of the marine*; and you promised that Mr. Wildman's bills for the money he

should lay out on these articles should be paid Mr. Wildman executed your commission : zeal of a friend, and chose to delay receiving ney till some months after, when he was himself through Paris. In September 1767 he was with you at Paris : He hoped he had executed your commission to your satisfaction : You denied the articles had ever been received. He asked what must do ; and whether, if any accident had happened it must be his loss ? You replied, that he must go upon Monsf. *Sainte Foy*. Mr. Wildman then begged of you to let him have my clothes which I had left you at Paris ; because I should not leave Europe so soon as I had before intended, and when I was abroad should not take the route of Paris : You refused to dissuade him from charging himself with my clothes, because of the great rigor of our House ; and when you could not deter him, promised he should have them soon. Mr. Wildman went to Monsf. *Sainte Foy*, was admitted, and told the cause of his visit ; Monsf. *Sans Foy* pretended he could not understand either his French or his English. Mr. Wildman went down Stairs to call his valet, who understood both languages well, and he would have gone into the room again. Monsf. *Sainte Foy*, his valet-de-chambre said—" His master is not at home." In vain Mr. Wildman persisted, he had quitted his master but that he would call in his interpreter ; the servant persisted—" His master was not at home," and Mr.

could only procure a repetition of the same answer. Mr. Wildman returned to Mr. Wilkes's house; Mr. Wilkes was "not at home." He repeated his visits,—Mr. Wilkes was "not at home." At length he was informed that Mr. Wilkes was gone to his house in the country: Mr. Wildman went thither after you; and you promised to come to Paris the next day and settle all matters; Mr. Wildman returned to Paris with a M^{on}s. Goy, a name well known in England and in France, and a constant companion of Mr. Wilkes. M. Goy told Mr. Wildman, "He might as well save himself the trouble of his visits, he would get neither money nor clothes; for that Mr. Wilkes was exceedingly distressed and had been forced lately to pawn the clothes." The next day a note was left at Mr. Wildman's hotel with Mr. Wilkes's name. Mr. Wildman immediately on the receipt of it, at noon, went to Mr. Wilkes's Lodgings. The servants said, Mr. Wilkes was in the country. Mr. Wildman then went to Mess. Foley and Panchaud, the bankers, and not finding any money left there for him as you had by letter promised him there should be, he perceived that Mr. Goy had told him truth, and that he was tricked and laughed at, and therefore instantly quitted Paris.—Such was the return which you his "affectionate friend" made to my brother your hospitable friend, for "Obligations which made it impossible for you to express the feelings of your gratitude," and for "Favours received under his roof, of which you promised an eternal remembrance."

Mr. Wildman has since made the proper enquiries, and finds that the goods he was commissioned by you to procure were duly delivered. For my own part I never made the least enquiry after my clothes, but have received a letter within the last three months from Mr. Panchaud, informing me that they have long been in his possession.

Though the extreme meanness of thus filching what you might have received freely as a gift, inspired me with infinite contempt for the very name of Mr. Wilkes, yet compassion for the wretchedness of your situation took away from me all kind of resentment; and tho' I was determined never to be connected with the man, I was ready to lay down my life in the cause.

I have mentioned these circumstances not as any charges against you, tho' no doubt they will operate as such; but merely to prove by facts what was from the beginning the nature of my intercourse with you, and what must have been my motives at the time of its commencement.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

S I R,

Prince's Court, Saturday, May 18.

YOUR *first* letter, of May 14, told me that you "blamed my public conduct, and would not open any account with me on the score of private character." A *third* letter is this day addressed to me. Not a word hitherto "of my public conduct," but many

false and malignant attacks about Mr Wildman, your brother-in-law, who formerly kept the Bedford head in Southampton-Street, Covent-Garden, and your *old clothes*. The public will impute the impertinence of such a dispute to it's author, and pardon my calling their attention for a few moments to scenes of so trifling a nature, because it is in justification of an innocent man.

When you left Paris in May 1767, you desired me to take care of your *old clothes*, for you meant to return in a few months, and they could be of no use to you in England. The morning of your departure you sent me the following letter :

“ Dear Sir,

“ According to your permission I leave with you

1 suit of scarlet and gold } cloth

1 suit of white and silver }

1 suit of blue and silver——camblet

1 suit of flowered silk

1 suit of black silk

and 1 black velvet surtout

“ If you have any fellow-feeling you cannot but be kind to them ; since they too as well as yourself are outlawed in England ; and on the same account—their superior worth. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate,

Humble Servant,

“ Paris May 25, 1767.

John Horne.”

This letter I returned to you at the King's Bench; and at the bottom of it the following memorandum in my own hand-writing: " Nov. 21, 1767, sent " to Mr. Panchaud's in the Rue St. Sauveur." I left Paris Nov. 22, 1767, and therefore thought it proper the day before to send your clothes *where* I was sure they would be perfectly safe, to Mr. Panchaud's, the great English banker's. They remained in my house, Rue des Saints Peres, only from May till the November following, nor was any demand or request made to me about them by Mr. Wildman, or any one else. The story of Monsieur Goy is I am persuaded an absolute falshood. You are forced to own, " I have received a letter within the " last three months from Mr. Panchaud, informing me " that they (*the clothes*) have *long* been in his possession." Examine the banker's books: You will find the date is Nov. 21, 1767. You say, " For " my own part I never made the least enquiry after " my clothes." I suppose for the plainest reason in the world: You knew where they were, and that they could be no part of a clergyman's dress in England, but that you were sure of so *rich a wardrobe* on your next tour to France or Italy, as Paris would probably be your rout. This is all I know of the *Vestimenta pretiosa* of Eutrapelus. I hope, Sir, the putting them on will not have the same effect on you as formerly on him.

*Cum puleris tunicis fumet nova consilia et spes :
 Dormiet in lucem ; scorto postponet honestum
 Officium ; nummos alienos pascet.*

Your charge about your brother-in-law Mr. Wildman is equally unjust. When I was in England in October 1766, I lodged at Mr. Wildman's house in Argyle-Buildings, on his own most pressing invitation. I had long known him, and for several years belonged to a club, which met once a week at the Bedford-head. Mr. Wildman desired to be considered at this time as the warm partisan of Mr. Wilkes. He begged that he might be useful as far as he could to me and my friends. I asked him to buy a little Welch horse for a lady in France, to whom I was desirous of paying a compliment. I fixed the price, and insisted on paying him at that very time, which I did. About a year afterwards Mr. Wildman fulfilled my commission, purchased me a Welch poney, and sent it to Calais. This was the single transaction of my own with your brother-in-law at that time. I gave him two or three trifling commissions from Monsieur *Sainte Foy* for arrack, &c. which were to be forwarded to Paris. I believe they were sent, but they never passed through my hands, nor do I know whether Mr. Wildman has yet been paid for those trifles, the whole of which amounted only, as he told me, to about thirty pounds.

Your endeavours to create a coolness between Mr. Cotes and me are clearly seen thro', and will prove

ineffectual. You made the same attempt on the late Mr. Sterne and me with the same success. In your letter to me at Paris, dated Jan. 3, 1766, you say, " I passed a week with Sterne at Lyons, and am to meet him again at Sienna in the summer—Forgive my question, and do not answer it, if it is impertinent. Is there any cause of coldness between you and Sterne? He speaks very handsomely of you, when it is absolutely necessary to speak at all; but not with that *warmth and enthusiasm*, that I expect from every one that knows you. Do not let me cause a coldness between you if there is none. I am sensible my question is at least imprudent, and my jealousy blameable."

In your second letter you say, " The nature of our *intercourse*, for it cannot be called a *connection*;" and afterwards, " In my return from Italy to England in the year 1767 I saw reasons sufficient *never more* to trust you with a single line;" and in your third letter you pretend that you had, even in 1767, " infinite contempt for the very name of Mr. Wilkes." However, on the 17th of last May, you wrote me another letter on my going to Fulham, while my house here was repairing, to recommend *fix* tradesmen to me, to tell me how *most sincerely* you were mine, &c. You add, " I could not forbear shewing my *friendship* to you by letting you know your friends." You will find, Sir, that it requires more memory as well as wit than falls to one man's share to support a long chain of falsehoods. You are

lost and bewildered in the intricacies of error. The path of truth you would find more easy and honourable.

You assert, " I found that all the private letters of " your friends were regularly pasted in a book, and " read over indiscriminately, not only to your friends " and acquaintance, but to every visitor." I glory, Sir, in having four large volumes of manuscript letters, many of them written by the first men of this age. I esteem them my most valuable possession. Why is the pleasure of an elegant and instructive epistle to perish with the hour it is received? To the care and attention of Cicero's friends in preserving that great Roman's letters we owe the best history of Rome for a most interesting period of about forty years. You mistake when you talk of *all the private letters of your friends*. My care has extended only to letters of particular friends on particular occasions, or to letters of business, taste, or literature. The originals of such I have preserved; never any copies of my own letters, unless when I wrote to a secretary of state, to a Talbot, a Martin, or a Horne. When you add, " that they are read over indiscriminately, " not only to your friends and acquaintance, but " to every visitor," you knowingly advance a falsehood. So much of your time has passed with me, that you are sensible very few of my friends have ever heard of the volumes I mentioned. The preservation of a letter is surely a compliment to the writer. But altho' I approve the preservation, in general I highly

disapprove the publication of any private letter. However, there are cases which justly call them forth to light. Mr. Onslow's first letter was after great opportunity from you printed by me, to justify what he had said at Epsom. The second you printed, without my consent, from a copy I suffered you to take.

The pamphlet you mention has *not yet been published*. I have now before me the copy, corrected with your own hand, which you gave me at Paris. The following passage I am sure you will read at the same time with particular satisfaction, and I reserve it for you, *pour la bonne bouche*.

" We have seen, by Mr. *Wilkes's* treatment, that
 " no man who is not, and who has not always been
 " absolutely perfect himself, must dare to arraign
 " the measures of a minister.

" It is not sufficient that he pay an inviolable regard
 " to the laws; that he be a man of the strictest and most
 " unimpeached honour; that he be endowed with
 " superior abilities and qualifications; that he be blessed
 " with a benevolent, generous, noble, free soul; that he
 " be inflexible, incorruptible, and brave; that he prefer
 " infinitely the public welfare to his own interest, peace
 " and safety; that his life be ever in his hand, ready
 " to be paid down cheerfully for the liberty of his
 " country; and that he be dauntless and unwearied
 " in her service.—All this avails him nothing.

" If it can be proved (though by the base means
 " of *treachery* and *theft*) that in some unguarded
 " wanton hour he has uttered an indecent word,

“ penned a loose expression——Away with such a
“ fellow from the earth ;——it is not fit that he
“ should live.”

I am, S I R,
Your humble Servant,
JOHN WILKES.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R IV.

S I R,

DURING the city-election many worthy merchants having generously come forward to your assistance, and some of them being men of the most rigid morality, you thought it proper to adopt the language of a penitent : To the one you talked of “ Saul transformed into St. Paul ;” to another you were more poetical, and told him that “ hitherto your life must “ be considered as only bearing the *blossoms*, and that “ the public might now expect from you the *fruits* ;” And you talked of the *follies* of your *youth*, as if you had not been at that time between *forty and fifty*, and as if *folly* was all that could be alleged against you. I believe you did not impose upon many ; the greater part despised the hypocrite, who before abhorred the rogue : But however some might be deceived, your conduct did not suffer me even for a few days to suppose you a changeling.

On *Tuesday* morning, March 22, 1768, I paid you

the first visit in London. On *Wednesday* I inserted two advertisements levelled at the old members for Middlesex : For one of which the imprudent hastiness of Sir J. Gibbons made that gentleman afterwards publish my name. On *Thursday* you set out with me to canvas the western part of the county. Returning in the evening to Brentford, I found there Mr. T——n, whose name I did not then know : He had been appointed by your committee of the city to secure some houses at Brentford for the day of the election : He could get none, because he was totally unknown : He applied to me, and appointed me to meet him on Saturday evening at the King's Arms, where the committee would settle every thing with me relative to the houses. On *Friday* I procured two inns for the purpose ; and engaged myself to them to pay the expences which should be incurred ; and this was necessary, because if you had lost your election the people could easily foresee you would again have fled the country, and they would have lost their money. On *Saturday* in the evening I waited on the committee : Mr. T——n was absent : I told them my business, and desired only that the risk of the uncertain expences at Brentford on the day of election might be understood to be equal between us, because I was not sufficient to bear the whole, and such a loss might undo me. They were perfect strangers to me ; the committee was distracted with variety of business ; all was confusion ; and they treated me very cavalierly, as they would have done a sharper who was come to impose upon them by

false pretences : The chairman, Mr. J. J—, a gentleman of character and a man of business, not having (as he has since informed me) been acquainted with the circumstances, and knowing that Mr. T—n had been appointed to look after the houses, very properly, though abruptly, bad me quit the room ; saying, “ Since houses are procured, that is sufficient for us, and we have nothing to do with you or your engagements.” I quitted the room ; first telling them that they were mistaken in supposing they had the houses safe, and therefore might leave me to bear the burthen ; that I was not quite so foolish as they seemed to imagine ; if they would not make it a joint risk, I was still able to save myself, for that I very well knew Sir William Beauchamp Proctor and Mr. Cooke would be very glad to take the houses off my hands, and to acknowledge the obligation. You had hitherto sat silent ; but being alarmed at my last words, which I threw out to alarm them, and to make them join with me in the risk, you followed me, and led me together with Mr. ——— into another room ; you caught me by the hands, and supplicated me most earnestly not to be offended at such “ creatures” as your committee ; you swore I should run no hazard ; that you had more than money enough at your banker’s, and would that moment give me a draft for *fifteen hundred pounds*.

I replied—“ Sir, I was not at all offended before, “ but I am now : I see you think me a dupe ; because “ it is Saturday evening, and your election comes on

" on Monday morning, you offer me a draft on
 " your banker for *fifteen hundred pounds*, when I know
 " you have not *fifteen-pence* in the world. It is you
 " that treat me ill, not they. I am not duped, Sir,
 " and I desire I may at least have the honour of doing
 " what I do with my eyes open. Go back and look
 " after them ; give yourself no concern about me : I
 " shall act in the same manner as if they had engaged
 " with me. The die is cast : if I had not thought
 " that all was at stake on the success of your election,
 " I should not have come forward at all ; and having
 " once begun in it, nothing shall stop me."

The success of the election is known ; the gentlemen afterwards excused themselves to me for a behaviour for which their good intention entirely justified them ; and the committee paid the expences.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

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tain a secret, unless the pamphlet was called in question : In that case the publisher had his choice, either to be indemnified by me, or to give up my name for his own security, if he did not chuse to risk the consequences of the prosecution."

As I am called upon by you in the public papers, I think the public have a right to every information in my power, and I shall strictly adhere to *truth*, remembering from the book, that "*Truth* endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore." It is true that you applied to me to recommend a printer to you for a pamphlet you brought me to peruse. You may recollect that I was extremely shy of you, nor would I enter into any private conversation with you till on the third visit. This caution was owing to the particular circumstances of the times : I had just before stood forward in support of an honest man, who was condemned to the pillory for republishing the North Briton, No. 45. I had made an handsome collection for him under the pillory in Palace-yard. *General Warrants* had not then received their formal condemnation; nor were the houses of Englishmen freed from the visitation of secretaries of state, king's messengers, solicitors, law-clerks, &c. &c. My behaviour had drawn upon me the indignation of those in power, and spies and messengers surrounded my house. In that situation common prudence dictated to suspect every man who came to me without a particular recommendation, in which predicament you then stood, as I did not

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then even know your name; however I afterward engaged a printer, and I believe you gave him your name by way of indemnification, and you soon after left England. I know of no other stipulation. After your departure, I thought the honest man would run too great a risk by publishing in your absence; I therefore took the whole impression from him, and paid him for the printing. I do not recollect you have repaid me, nor do I desire it; but the pamphlet was never published.

I certainly was the first person that introduced you to Mr. Wilkes's acquaintance; and I have lately lamented, and declared my concern in many public companies, that I had so done; but when I consider your small services in the Middlesex election, and the very great ones you have done him by your late attacks in the public papers, I begin to alter my opinion.

As you have made free with my name, you must give me leave to make some remarks upon your public conduct, of which I formerly had a tolerable good opinion. I found no alteration in you respecting Mr. Wilkes until he was elected Alderman. From that period (for reasons you best know) your friendship cooled, and every success of his afterwards was apparently received by you with dislike; and I found that the great public cause was to suffer from your private pique to him in the business of the Middlesex petition; for after that measure was determined upon at the Mile-End assembly-room, Mr. Wilkes gave you a draft of a petition, the subject matter of which was

confined merely to the violated rights of the electors of England in general, and to those of the county of Middlesex in particular; his opinion being, that general invectives against the king's government and ministers, past and present, would only furnish a pretext to avoid the decision of the grand question—the right of election—And I firmly believe if that mode of petitioning had been adopted, not one county, or scarcely one borough in England, would have been backward in support of the cause; but you acted upon very different grounds; for, after pretending to prepare a petition more to the purpose, you amused your friends for more than three weeks without producing *one line*. At length I was so much harrassed by many freeholders of my acquaintance, that I determined to apply to Mr. Wilkes, then in the King's Bench prison. I found Mr. Bellas with him, who then censured your conduct in the strongest terms. We went from thence to Mr. Samuel Vaughan, who, we understood, had a petition of *yours* in his possession destined for the city of London. We found him at the Jamaica coffee-house. Mr. Vaughan refused Mr. Bellas a sight of that petition, which occasioned very high words between them. I then waited upon Mr. Walpole Eyre, the chairman of the committee appointed at the Mile-End meeting, to desire his permission, with the consent of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Bellas, to call the freeholders together at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand to consider of the petition. This I published immediately in the papers. Sick;

ness preventing my attending, the company then present can best account for your behaviour at that meeting. You may recollect that you afterwards expressed yourself highly dissatisfied with me for that measure; which I did not regard, being determined to keep a watch over you, as your conduct had made me very suspicious. Another meeting was afterwards had, as I am informed, at the Three Tuns in Spittlefields, when the petition was agreed to by the committee; and in consequence a meeting of the freeholders convened at the Mile-End assembly room at *eleven o'clock* to hear, approve, and sign it.—Mr. Martin has informed me that you did not bring the petition to him at his house near Leicester fields until *twelve o'clock that very day*; and it was past two before you and Mr. Martin arrived at the assembly-room at Mile-End. Many of the freeholders were gone away, much disgusted at your conduct. You best know whether it was your design to defeat the petition, and to stop the spirit of petitioning in it's rise or not; the public will make their own reflections.

Again, when the petition of the county of Surrey was in agitation, a gentleman of the committee applied to you for a draft, which you gave him. He shewed it to me; and I cannot conceive, that if you intended the business should have succeeded at the general meeting of the county, you would ever have given him such a draft. When I read it, I own I was astonished, because I then thought you did not want abilities to do better. I then told the gentleman that

I was certain no man of consequence in the county would even hear of such an absurd composition. This I repeated to you at Vauxhall previous to our going to Epsom, and afterwards in the coffee-room there. You may recollect that I told you before several gentlemen, that you "wanted to injure the great cause, but that it was above your match." Notwithstanding all which, you read this very extraordinary performance on the Bowling-Green as *your own*, though you had previously given it to the gentlemen; and you had the mortification to find it totally rejected. I leave the impartial public to judge of your conduct in this business; for my own part, it explained your real intentions so clearly, that I have not since had the least doubt of your true character.

As you, Sir, have made the tour of Europe twice, you must, doubtless, have formed your opinion on the difference between free and despotic governments. I, from a frequent intercourse with a neighbouring nation, have been taught the value of that inestimable jewel LIBERTY. Those now-unhappy people were once as free as us; but by the treachery and profligacy of the great, and the wiles and arts of wicked men and ministers, are now reduced to a wretched state of slavery. In some, indeed, the spirit of freedom still remains, and many noble and meritorious efforts have lately been made to recover what their ancestors have so shamefully lost; but in vain; they can only rattle and bite their chains in anguish. If ever that should be the fate (in an evil hour) of this

dear country, it needs not the spirit of prophecy to divine, that though our vallies should be filled with plenty, they will cease to laugh or sing.

Mr. Wilkes's public conduct has given me the most convincing proof of his love for this country ; and that he is the true watchman of constitutional liberty. His late attention to the antient and undoubted rights and franchises of the people in general, and of the city of London in particular, both with respect to preſ-warrants and the seizure of the printers, will do him immortal honour, as they will reflect the highest disgrace on those who basely withdrew themselves when these most essential points were agitated. These, added to his former merit, will place him above the reach of envy, and convince every honest, independent Englishman, that those little shafts which are aimed at him arise either from low jealousy, or mean self interest ; the latter has, to the disgrace of it, been the characteristic of this country for a long time. Thank Heaven, however, there are some few exceptions. I sincerely wish I could with propriety rank you amongst them. It has given me great concern to find such a defection amongst those who call themselves the Friends of Liberty. God knows they are too many ; but I trust there still remains in this country a great majority of honest men, who will scorn to follow such unworthy examples ; and that you and all will find in the end, that *vox populi vox Dei*, is an unerring rule in England.

Your humble Servant,

HUMPHRY COTES,

P. S. Since the foregoing I have read your third letter to Mr. Wilkes, in which you say, " My first employment on my return to England was to reconcile you with Mr. Cotes."—I never had a quarrel with Mr. Wilkes—I never accused him of *ingratitude*.

To the Rev. Mr. H O R N E.

S I R, Prince's Court, Wednesday, May 22,

I AM persuaded there are very few particulars in your *fourth* letter which the public wish that I should answer. You say, that on the Saturday before the first Middlesex election, " You led me, together with Mr. —, into another room; you caught me by the hands, and supplicated me most earnestly not to be offended at such " Creatures" as your committee; you swore I should run no hazard; that you had more than money enough at your banker's, and would that moment give me a draft for *fifteen hundred pounds*." I had been only a few weeks in England, and most certainly had at that time no banker. If I had made such a speech to you, who knew the distress of my private affairs, instead of supporting me as candidate for the county of Middlesex, you ought to have applied to my friends for a commission of lunacy against me. That single proof would have been sufficient. Will you please, Sir, to tell me the banker's name, and the name of Mr. —,

“ on Monday morning, you offer me a draft on
 “ your banker for *fifteen hundred pounds*, when I know
 “ you have not *fifteen-pence* in the world. It is you
 “ that treat me ill, not they. I am not duped, Sir,
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Your second letter is more particular, and shall have a more particular answer. The following is your account of the transaction with Mr. Wildman.

“ Mr. Wildman formerly kept the Bedford-Head “ in Southampton-street, Covent-Garden ; for several “ years I belonged to a club which met once a week “ at the Bedford-Head ; when I was in England I “ LODGED at his house in Argyle-Buildings ; he desired “ to be considered as my warm partizan ; he “ desired to be useful to me and my friends ; I desired “ him to buy a horse, I *fixed the price and paid him “ beforehand.* This was the *single* transaction of my “ own with Mr. Wildman. I gave him two or three “ trifling commissions from Monsieur Sainte Foy. I “ believe the articles were sent ; they *never passed “ through my hands, nor do I know* whether Mr “ Wildman has yet been paid for these trifles.”

You are absolutely silent about what passed between you and Mr. Wildman at Paris : You do not seem to know that this *tavern-man* at whose house you LODGED ever called upon you there : In short you know and care nothing about the matter ; you *paid for your horse beforehand*, and have nothing to do with the other trifles whether he was paid or not ; he may go again for payment to Mons. Sainte Foy !

The reader who cannot see your baseness through this shuffling, must be stupid indeed. But, Sir, have your letters to Mr. Wildman now before me. You left Mr. Wildman's house, Nov. 7, 1766 : The next day you wrote thus amongst other things to this *tavern-man*,

“ Dear Wildman

“ Ship at Dover
Saturday Nov. 8. 1766

“ My heart is too full to say one word of the events of yesterday, except my feelings of gratitude to you and Mrs. Wildman for all the kindness you shewed me. Pray direct to me at Paris Rue des Saints Peres au coin de la Rue de l'Universite, and *let me know every farthing of expence you are at for me, my Horse, &c.* I am,

Dear Wildman,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

John Wilkes.”

Again in another letter you say,

“ Dear Wildman

“ Paris, Rue des Saints
Peres March 29. 1767

“ If you would deliver a friend of yours from daily, almost hourly persecution, you will contrive to get me the little horse I asked of you for a lady. *I will repay* you all charges of every kind. You were so kind to undertake a few commissions for a friend of mine here. Will you forgive me troubling you in this manner? Your readiness to serve me on every occasion makes me more willingly ask these favours of you. I hope your gout has kept aloof this winter, and that Mrs. Wildman enjoys perfect health. I beg you to remember me to her very affectionately, and

to assure her that I shall never forget the obligations
I received under your roof. I am,

Dear Wildman,

Your sincere Friend,

and most humble Servant,

John Wilkes."

Again in another letter you say,

" Dear Sir

" Paris, Rue des Saints Peres

" We have been fellow-sufferers in a good
cause, and we will keep up our spirits with the hope
of seeing it at last triumphant. Do not you come
this summer to taste our Champaign and Burgundy?
I shall be very happy to see you here. I beg you to re-
member me to all our good friends, to Mrs. Wildman
in particular, whose kindness to me I shall never for-
get. If the gout spares your fingers you may employ
them usefully in now and then writing to

Your affectionate humble Servant, ..

John Wilkes.

P. S. Since I wrote the above I have the favour
of yours of the 23d. Ten thousand thanks for the
trouble you have had about the horse. Shall I pay
the 7 l. 10 s. to Foley and Panchaud on your account?
As soon as you send me Monsieur Sainte Foy's bill,
I will take care the money shall be paid in to Foley's
and Panchaud's, and you may afterwards order them
to pay it to Monsieur Le Marquis de Phyzieux. Pray

where does he live in Paris, or where in Champagne ? If I can serve you or save you trouble, let me know. If you will send me your commission in English I will translate it into French, and send it to him."

These letters passed before Mr. Wildman went to Paris. How he was trifled with and treated there I have already mentioned. After he was returned to England, you sent him the following artful letter :

" Dear Sir
Paris, Rue des Saints
Peres, Oct. 19. 1767

" I was sorry to miss the pleasure of seeing you at the Hotel de York the morning I came to Paris on purpose to see you. Why did you not leave me a note about Monsieur St. Foy's business, and if it was settled, or not ? You know very well the letter you sent me to Paris some months before about it, you found undelivered. St. Foy never had received but the arrack. Did you enquire about the other things when you returned by Cahais ? If you will send me the list of the things and what you have paid, and the name of the ship and master, with the direction of the goods, I will set all to rights, and see you paid. I advise you likewise to empower Mr. Panchaud to receive the money for you of St. Foy. I long ago enclosed you a direction how to draw for it. Send me likewise the account of the little horse, and I will pay the remainder to Mr. Panchaud. I lament, my dear Sir, that you have had so much trouble on

this occasion. Be so good only to take the writing to me by the post, and I will soon be into order. If I can be of any service to you not say that you may always command me, as there has been no delay on my part. I be-
remember me with much regard to Mrs. V and to Mr. Horne.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Ser-
John

" P. S. GOR is with the duke of Choiseul
tainbleau."

The following is a list of the articles wh
commissioned Mr. Wildman to buy.

" 25 Bottles of the very best old Jamaica
25 Arrack.

For three gowns, chintz, one light-blue, on
and the other fine yellow ground.

Pamphlets.

Oroonoko, as it is acted now.

Romeo and Juliet.

Churchill's Works.

Forty yards of fine flannel.

—— } Two profligate articles which Mr. V.
—— } would not furnish.

La Philosophie de l'Histoire.

Le Philosophe Ignorant.

Le Dernier Ouvrage de Boulanger.

Every thing new from Voltaire."

Tho' you pretend not to *know* whether Mr. Wildman has yet been paid for these *trifles*, you know it can be proved that Mr. Wildman's clerk called upon you whilst you were in the King's Bench for the money, to which application you answered, that you had nothing to do with it. And I suppose you know that Mr. Reynolds not many months ago endeavoured at Bath to persuade Mr. Wildman to subscribe this debt, or, if he would not do that, at least to accept the composition for it. Mr. Wildman has very cheerfully subscribed on your account since your return to England more than this sum, but he would not subscribe this debt, in which he had been so shamefully treated.

You next deny that Mr. Wildman asked you for my cloaths ; and you are *persuaded* that what is said of Monsieur Goy is an absolute fallhood. Mr. Wildman's affirmative would be much undervalued if it was to be weighed against your negative. But perhaps this matter does not depend alone on his veracity.

You have made an extract from the letter I sent you from Montpellier, which wants no excuse, and does not relate to any thing in agitation. If it required any explanation, I could easily give one you would not like. I last night found amongst my papers a copy of this my letter to you, with which you have so much threatened me : It finishes with the latter of the following extracts.

“ I have received yet no letters ; I believe I have some at the Post-house at Marseilles, but I do not ex-

peſt any intelligence in them : I hope for ſome from you relative to yourſelf that may give me pleaſure, tho' I am half afraid your hopes of the preſent miniſtry have miſcarried : For Lord St. John of Bletſo, not long ſince ſhewed me a letter from the Duke of Grafton, excuſing himſelf for not appointing his Lordſhip to the embaffy of Conſtantinople, and mentioning the appointment of Mr. Murray ; at the ſame time his Lordſhip told me that he too had long been ſoliciting that employment : I wiſh there had been no greater obſtacle in your way than his Lordſhip's intereſt and merit.

“ I this moment receive a letter from England that tells me Fitzherbert has ſent you power to draw on him to the amount of 1000 l. a-year :—

*Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat
Veſtimenta dabat pretioſa :—*

I am afraid this is *Eutrapelian* generoſity ; and that by furniſhing you with the means of pleaſure, they intend to conſign you over to diſſipation, and the grand points of national liberty and your glory to oblivion. I am ſure they will be miſtaken ; nothing little or common is for the future to be pardoned you. The public have done you the juſtice to form extravagant notions of you ; and tho' they would be very ſorry to ſee you neglect any opportunity of ſerving your private intereſt, yet they hope never to have cauſe to reproach you as Brutus did Cicero—That it was not

so much a *master* that he feared as Anthony for that *master*."

This language was pretty plain, Sir, from so new an acquaintance to you as I then was, and I think my sentiments expressed in the latter extract cannot easily be misunderstood. From this latter extract of my letter you evidently borrowed the thought and the quotation from Horace which you have used in your letter of last Monday; but unfortunately you do not understand the passage, an accident that happens very frequently to plagiaries: You say, "This is all I know of the *Vestimenta pretiosa* of *Eutrapelus*. I hope, Sir, the putting them on will not have the same effect on you as formerly on him."—If they have no more effect on me, than Horace supposes them to have had formerly on *Eutrapelus*, they will not do me much mischief.

*Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat
Vestimenta DABAT pretiosa.*

The fact is, Sir, (as any school-boy can tell you) that *Eutrapelus* did not wear the clothes himself, as you suppose, but left them with a profligate at Paris, and the bad effects enumerated by Horace in the following lines relate to the fellow who pawned them, and not to *Eutrapelus* who gave him the opportunity.

You have made another extract from a letter you call it, which I sent to you at Fulham. I desire you would give the whole of that letter, and the extract will then, I believe, have a very different appearance.

It is true that *note* to you at Fulham had escaped my memory, but I now well recollect the occasion of it. Mr. B——, of Fulham, who had been exceedingly useful in your election, came to solicit me last May that I would write to you in behalf of some tradesmen there, who had voted for you or otherwise served you in your election. It was much against my will to tell him my thoughts of his request; and yet I could not be so unjust as to conceal my opinion and do them an injury under the appearance of a favour. I asked him *smiling* (for you know I cannot laugh) if he really thought such a recommendation of them would be doing them a favour? He replied, they would think it so. I told him, I would not pretend to answer for their being paid; and that I should be sorry to make them such a return for their good public spirit as to recommend them to a bad private debt. He said, they would use their prudence; which I begged he would caution them to do, that I might not hereafter be reproached. On this occasion I recollect I did write you a short note, of which I have likewise a copy somewhere; and I remember too the substance of it—I expressed to you my surprize that your credit was so good, and that there were still to be found any persons willing to trust you: The line of my note, which you have extracted, was inserted by me to let you understand that you were not conferring an obligation on me, but that it was an act of friendship in me towards you to let you know your friends.

Sir, my surprize to find any tradesmen willing to trust you was the greater, because I knew several of the fraudulent pretences you had used *since your enlargement* from the King's Bench, to obtain goods from tradesmen.

What you say concerning Mr. Onslow's letters is not true ; but it needs no refutation, being nothing to the present purpose, and bearing evident marks of falshood on the face of it ; for who can be so gross as to believe that—" It was printed without your consent from a copy you suffered me to take," and this too after acknowledging that you printed the first letter yourself !

JOHN HORNE.

To Mr. C O T E S.

S I R,

I WAS exceedingly sorry and much surprised to see your name signed to such a heap of nonsense and falshood as is contained in your letter. I have never given you the least provocation. There was nothing in either of my letters that could offend you.

I only said I was an entire stranger to you when I applied to you for a publisher—that you found one for me ;—that I made no other stipulation with him, than to conceal my name unless it was necessary for his safety to disclose it, and that by your means I first became acquainted with Mr. Wilkes. The truth of all this you acknowledge. You then cast some

reflections on me, I suppose at the instigation of Mr. Wilkes, who never yet hesitated about sacrificing his friends for the most trifling momentary advantage to himself. Now, Sir, you will see in a few moments to what he has exposed you. You say, that "*soon after* you had engaged a printer, I left England." The pamphlet was printed in June, 1767. I did not leave England till three months after, in *September*.

You say—that "after my departure you thought "the honest man would run too great a risk by "publishing in my absence; that you *therefore* took "the whole impression from him." The fact is, that as soon as it was printed, you several times ordered it for publication, and as often stopped it. You must remember the reasons you gave me for so doing: If you insist on my telling them, I shall comply: I am only silent on that subject from *respect*, you ought to be so from strong ties of *honour*. You say—"You "paid for printing the pamphlet, but you do not re- "collect whether I have repaid you, nor do you desire "it." Now, Sir, observe the dilemma into which you have brought yourself. Whilst I was abroad you became a bankrupt. (I do not mention it but from the necessity you put me under; no man felt and does still feel more concern for you *on that account* than myself). Either I *did* repay you, or I *did not*. Is this debt to be found in your accounts which you have delivered to your creditors on oath? I will venture to say it is not. If I *did* repay you, why do you endeavour to cast the reflection on me of being in your debt? If

I did not repay you, how will you escape from the oath of your bankruptcy ? But you have made this matter appear more serious than it is. Humphry, I do not want to load you unjustly ; all my friends and acquaintance know that on account of your misfortunes and your good-nature I have ever been your advocate. This expence of the *printing* was a mere trifle, which you have mentioned *uncertainly* in your letter for the sake of reflecting upon me, that I might be supposed to be something *considerable* in your debt. *I did* repay you *after your bankruptcy*, after my return in 1767 ; you told me what I should give you, and I paid you one day as we were walking in the street : for you said it was a trifle of such a nature as you never entered in your books. I will pay you again, if you please : though had I not paid you, it would have been with a very ill grace that you could reproach me for it ; because when you became a bankrupt you owed my brother-in-law, Mr. Wildman, 22 l. which he would not claim. He said, *honest Humphry* was heartily welcome to it.

So much for the foolish pamphlet.

The only thing besides which I have said concerning you in my letter is, that “ *I reconciled you with Mr. Wilkes*, and that I *thought* he treated you in your misfortunes with a barbarous ingratitude.” How could this offend you ? You answer—“ That you never had a quarrel with Mr. Wilkes ; and that you never accused him of *ingratitude*.” Mr. Wilkes has taken care not to say so much. I certainly did re-

concile you : Mr. Wilkes in the year 1767, and ever since that time down to the present moment, has constantly accused you of applying to your own purposes above a *thousand pound*, which he says he trusted with you to pay the debt due from him to the *Foundling Hospital* : In Mr. Wilkes's own account of the matter I saw he did not tell truth ; and when I talked to you afterwards on the subject, I thought you justified yourself from the charge, and proved to me that Mr. Wilkes was in your debt. If Mr. Wilkes will deny this, I engage to bring as many credible witnesses as he pleases to prove it : for it has been his constant defence to all his friends, when he has been charged with that *fraud* on the Foundling Hospital.

The bulk of your letter, Mr. Cotes, is upon matters very foreign to any thing I had said concerning you or Mr. Wilkes. You give us an encomium on *truth*, and some common rant about liberty ; to which you add your *opinion* on *political measures* ; and your *taste* of *literary composition*. You make some remarks and give a *false* account concerning the Middlesex and Surrey petitions ; but I will not now be drawn off to answer them. Nor shall I trouble myself at present with what concerns you more nearly ; I mean the POLICIES about D'Eon. I have known the circumstances of that fraudulent business some time ; but I suppose it will not be necessary for me to disclose them ; they will be brought to light without my assistance.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. H O R N E.

S I R,

Prince's-Court, Friday, May 24.

I N the accuracy of quotation you have a formidable rival in Mr. Lauchlin Maclean. You do not even publish your own letters correctly. I ought not then to be so unreasonable as to expect you should print mine more faithfully. The third letter you have quoted of mine to Mr. Wildman has no date. Is there none in the original? I expect you to leave at Mr. Woodfall's every letter of mine, which you have quoted, and all those you print in future. Your letters to me shall accompany this, and be left for your perusal at the printer's. The palm of exactness and fidelity you shall yield to the Alderman of Farringdon Without.

You quote me as saying, "When I was in England
" I LODGED at Mr. Wildman's house in Argyle-
" Buildings," but you chuse to omit the words immediately following, because they cleared me from one of your charges, *on his own most pressing invitation*. In your letter to me from Montpellier you only quote, "I have received yet no letters," the original added, "from England." In a former letter I said, "I fixed the price" of the horse," "and
" insisted on paying him (Mr. Wildman) at that very
" time, which I did." Will your brother-in-law deny this? I thought five guineas the common value of a Welch poney. I had formerly purchased more

than one at that price. He told me I must give seven; I therefore paid him down that sum. The expences of the horse, &c. *travelling to Calais* could not then be ascertained. My letters confirm this account. You quote from that of Oct. 19, 1767, "Send me likewise the account of the little horse;" and I will pay the remainder to Mr. Panchaud." Pray, Sir, what is the meaning of the word *remainder* in that sentence? Why did you not print that word in italics? The letter of March 29, 1766, says, "I will repay you all charges *of every kind*." Does this imply the horse itself was not paid for before? In the same manner the first letter, "Let me know *every farthing of expence you are at for me, my horse, &c.*"

As to your *old clothes*, I have already said that they continued in my house, the Rue des Saints Peres; from May 25 till Nov. 1767, and were then sent to the great English banker's, Mr. Panchaud's. Your assertion of the *pawning* them is an impudent falsehood, and a rascally return for the care I took of such trifles at your desire during the time I staid at Paris, and even on my leaving France. As to the *vestimenta pretiosa* of *Eutrapelus*, it ought undoubtedly to be "his acquaintance," not "him." Whether the printer, or I, made the trifling mistake, I do not recollect. The first idea was your's. I turned your own cannon against you. Your proof of my *plagiarism* of the Latin words is pleasant. You pretend I take *from you* two lines and a half, not a word of

which you cited! I will only add about the *old clothes*, that when you next wear *red*, I hope it will be a *Suit of SCARLET and gold—cloth*, not of *black died red with the blood*—of your countrymen.

The commissions of Monsieur Sainte Foy respect that gentleman, not me. Mr. Wildman never made the claim of such a debt at the Bill of Rights. It is not to be found in the list, nor was any application made on that subject by Mr. Reynolds either at Bath or in London.

You declare, “ I knew several of the fraudulent pretences you had used *since your enlargement* from “ the King’s Bench to obtain goods from tradesmen.” I know Mr. Horne to be the *father of falsehoods*. I call upon him to produce *one single instance*, and I dare him to publish every thing he knows of me of every kind.

The reason, Sir, why I did not give *the whole* of the two letters I have quoted, was the shameful private scandal in the one, and the dullness in the other. The practice of unnecessarily printing the names of private persons, as in the late instance of the *members of the Bill of Rights*, where it was a real injury to the parties, is highly to be censured. You may publish the entire letters if you please. Why did you not quote the following passage of the letter dated Jan. 3, 1766? “ I am quite at a loss about yourself, and very “ anxious to know what is determined relative to “ you and *those grand points with which your cause* “ *is inseparably united*. Can it be that the present

“ men in power should so far forget themselves as to
 “ forget you ! “ Sure no body but my father would
 “ ever keep such a bird in a cage,” said prince
 “ Henry of Sir Walter Raleigh. And surely none
 “ but the present ministry would leave such a bird as
 “ Mr. Wilkes loose.

As you mention the promise you had obtained of
 being one of the *chaplains to his majesty*, I shall con-
 clude my present extracts with the following passage,
 which will shew how peculiarly fitted you are to be a
domestic chaplain to our present *sovereign*.

“ Si eridan is at Blois, *by order of his majesty*, and
 “ with a pension ; inventing a method to give the
 “ proper pronounciation of the English language to
 “ strangers, by means of sounds borrowed from their
 “ own. And he begins with the French.

“ I remember a few years ago when an attempt
 “ was made to prove Lord Harborough an *ideot*,
 “ the counsel on both sides produced the same in-
 “ stance ; one of his wit, the other of his folly. His
 “ servants were puzzled once to unpack a large box,
 “ and his lordship advised them to do with it as
 “ they did with oysters—put it in the fire, and it
 “ would gape.

“ This commision of Sheridan appears to me
 “ equally equivocal. And should a *similar statute*
 “ *be at any time attempted against his majesty*, they
 “ who do not know him may be apt to suspect that
 “ he employed Sheridan in this manner, not so much
 “ for the sake of foreigners as of his own subjects ;

“ and had permitted him to amuse himself abroad,
 “ to prevent his spoiling our pronunciation at home.”

As to the letter from Montpellier you say, “ You
 “ have not denied that you disowned to me the
 “ receipt of it.” I assert, Sir, that I told you I
 received that letter, but had not time to answer it,
 while you staid at Montpellier. I reserved this for
 the *general catalogue of your insignificant lies*, which
 I mean to give in my last letter. You add, “ And
 “ you have not denied the shewing about this let-
 “ ter with an intention to intimidate and injure me.”
 The letter was never shewn till after Mr. Morris de-
 clared publicly, “ Mr. Horne told me he had *al-*
 “ *ways the same* opinion of Mr. Wilkes.” I re-
 plied, “ *not always the same*. When I see you next,
 “ I will convince you of it.” I am not to answer
 for the *injury* a gentleman in holy orders may re-
 ceive from such a letter, not wrote in a hurry, but of
 which he appears to *have kept a copy*, now called
 forth to light by his own treacherous conduct.

I shall now, Sir, in answer to what you mention
 in the letter of Jan. 3, 1766, “ I this moment re-
 “ ceive a letter from England that tells me *Fitzber-*
 “ *bert* has sent you power to draw on him to the
 amount of 1000l. a-year,” give you a letter of the
 preceding month on this subject to Mr. *George On-*
slow, member for Surry, then one of the lords of
 the Treasury, a copy of which was taken by a friend
 at Paris, before it was put into the post. Mr. On-
 slow has shewn it to several persons in England.

(COPY)

“ Rue des Saints Peres;
Dec. 12, 1765.

“ My Dear Sir,

“ I R E G R E T that I am obliged to send this by the post, but I do not hear of any friend's going soon to England, and I think that it becomes the fairness of all my proceedings with respect to the gentlemen, with whom I have been concerned, to state two or three facts to you, and immediately after I had taken my resolution. Mr. *Fitzberbert* has offered me, in the name of some of the ministry, the annual sum of 1000 l. to be paid out of the income of their respective places. I have rejected this proposal as clandestine, eleemosynary, and precarious. I demand from the justice of my friends a full pardon under the great seal—for having successfully served my country. I will wait here till the first day of the new year. If I should not then have received it, I shall have the strongest proof that the present ministry are neither the friends of Mr. Wilkes, nor of justice, because the letter of Mr. *Fitzberbert* tells me, “ that there is perfect harmony among them, and *the perfect confidence and support of their master.*”

“ The frankness of my nature, and the openness of my conduct, oblige me to give you this notice. I ask not the grace of a pension, or of an employment. I ask justice, and from gentlemen who declare that I have been “ extremely useful, and ill used,” and that “ they are my friends.”

“ I beg the sincerest compliments of respect to the good old speaker; and to Mrs. Onslow.

“ I am ever, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and

obedient, humble Servant,

“ George Onslow, Esq.

John Wilkes.”

I shall conclude with observing, that the above letter was written in consequence of Mr. Fitzherbert's *mistaken* information to me, at a time *when the men you most hate were in power*, during the *shortest*, because the most *virtuous* of all the late administrations, to whom we owe the parliamentary resolutions against *general warrants* and the *seizure of papers*, the repeal of the late *excise on cyder and perry*, and of the *American stamp-tax*; by which four glorious acts the subjects both at home and in the colonies have been restored to their personal liberty as well as their invaluable and unalienable rights and privileges. Such a conduct secured to them the confidence of the people, and of course the hatred of our sovereign, with their own speedy dissolution.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

TO MR. JOHN WILKES.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

I HAVE been asked by some very well-meaning men,

1. Whether I did not in my first letter say, that I would open no account with you on the score of *private* character?

2. And yet whether I have hitherto charged you with any thing but bad actions of a private nature?

3. Whether your *private* character is worse now than it was when I went such lengths in your support?

4. Whether I did not at that time know your private character?

5. How then could I be a friend to such a man?

6. If I was your friend only for the sake of the public cause, whether the same reason does not remain?

7. Whether your cause is not still the same? And

8. Why I will suffer any private pique or quarrel between us to come before the public and injure that cause?

To which I answer,

1. 2. I have hitherto confined myself, according to the plan laid down in my first letter, to shew from facts what must have been the motives of my conduct

and the nature of the intercourse between us. For that purpose it was necessary for me to mention such parts of your ill behaviour as fell within *my own knowledge* and *related to myself* at the time of it's commencement; that it might from thence plainly appear to every one that I could have no *private* attachment to Mr. Wilkes, though I was determined to the utmost of my poor abilities to assist *him and his cause as far as it was a public cause**, and might tend to public benefit. Had it been my intention to attack your private character (which I understand to be on all sides given up) I should have pursued a very different method: the transactions I have mentioned are mere peccadilloes compared to the black catalogue which would then have appeared.

3. Your private character is not worse now than it was when I went such lengths in your support; except that by continuing your former bad practices in every respect, notwithstanding every reason public and private to restrain you, all hopes of your amendment are vanished; for the ingenuity of man cannot find out an additional motive of restraint.

4. 5. I knew enough of your private character at the time of the Middlesex election not to enter into any private connection with you; and to have no motives but what were public for the sacrifices I made and the

* The declaration of the society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights, when it was first formed.

hazards I ran. But I did not know your private character as I have known it since. When I first went abroad, early in the year 1763, I knew no more of you than what the papers told me, that you in conjunction with Churchill and Lloyd were one of the authors of the North Briton. What I afterwards heard against you on my return in 1764, I imputed for the greater part to the rage of party and the malice of your enemies: I supposed you liberal in speculation, and not a very rigid moralist in action: I have not to this moment read the Essay on Woman; and whatever it may contain, I should have felt more indignation against those who bribed the printer to betray you, than against you who were betrayed; because it was a mean villainy, almost equal to the treacherous publication of a *private, friendly, confidential* letter; but a villainy of which you can now complain no more.

Wilkes with the education of a gentleman has exceeded in meanness and want of sentiment his servant *Curry*. In the year 1767 I first *knew* some part of your private character, and no sooner *knew* than avoided you. Since that time, in the progress of my excessive industry to extricate you from your difficulties, I have to my astonishment found to be true not only all that has been alleged against you, but much more. However, were it possible to add to the measure of your private turpitude, it would not prevent me from acting over again in the same manner I have done; and was there an election for Middlesex tomorrow, (the right of the electors being left unvindi-

cated) or any other point of public concern, the benefit which *you* might receive from my labour or my sufferings should not make me in the least relax the one or decline the other.

6. 7. I was your friend only for the sake of the public cause : That reason does in certain matters remain ; as far as it remains, so far I am still your friend ; and therefore I said in my first letter, “ The public should know how far they *ought*, and how far they *ought not* to support you.” To bring to punishment the great delinquents who have corrupted the parliament and the seats of justice ; who have encouraged, pardoned, and rewarded murder : to heal the breaches made in the constitution, and by salutary provisions to prevent them for the future : to replace once more, not the *administration* and *execution*, for which they are very unfit, but the *checks* of government *really* in the hands of the governed ;

For these purposes, if it were possible to suppose that the great enemy of mankind could be rendered instrumental to their happiness, so far the Devil himself should be supported by the people. For a human instrument they should go farther ; he should not only be supported, but thanked and rewarded for the good which perhaps he did not intend, as an encouragement to others to follow his example. But if the foul fiend, having gained their support, should endeavour to delude the weaker part, and intice them to an idolatrous worship of himself, by persuading them that what he suggested was their voice, and *their voice* the *voice*

of God: If he should attempt to obstruct every thing that leads to their security and happiness, and to promote every wickedness that tends only to his own emolument: If when—*the cause—the cause*—reverberates on their ears, he should divert them from the original sound and direct them towards the opposite unfaithful echo: If confusion should be all his aim, and mischief his sole enjoyment, would not he act the part of a faithful monitor to the people, who should save them from their snares, by reminding them of the true object of their *constitutional* worship, expressed in those words of *holy writ* (for to me it is so) *Rex, lex loquens; lex, rex mutus*. This is—*the cause—the cause*—To make this union indissoluble is the only cause I acknowledge. As far as the support of Mr. Wilkes tends to this point I am as warm as the warmest: but all the lines of your projects are drawn towards a different center—yourself; and if with a good intention I have been diligent to gain you powers which may be perverted to mischief, I am bound to be doubly diligent to prevent their being so employed.

8. The diligence I have used for two years past, and the success I have had in defeating all your shameful schemes, is the true cause of the dissention between us. I have never had any private pique or quarrel with you. It was your policy in *paragraphs* and *anonymous letters* to pretend it; but you cannot mention any private cause of pique or quarrel.

To prevent the mischief of division to a popular op-

position, those who saw both your bad intentions and your actions were silent ; and whilst they defeated all your projects, they were cautious to conceal your defeats. They studied so much the more to satisfy your voracious prodigality, and thought, as I should have done if a minister, that if feeding it would keep you from mischief, a few thousands would be well employed by the public for that purpose. But I can never, merely for the sake of *strengthening* opposition, join in those actions which would prevent all the good effects to be hoped for from opposition, and for the sake of which alone any opposition to government can be justifiable. Such a practice would very well suit those who wish a change of ministers. For my part I wish no such thing ; bad as the present are I am afraid the next will not be better, though I am sure they cannot be worse. I care not under whose administration good comes. But the people must owe it to themselves, nor ought they to receive the restoration of their rights as a favour from any set of men, minister, or king. The moment they accept it as a *grant*, a *favour*, an *act of grace*, the people have not the prospect of a right left. They will from that time become like the mere possessors of an estate without a title, and of which they may be dispossessed at pleasure. If the people are not powerful enough to make a bad administration or a bad king do them justice, they will not often have a good one. Would to God, the time were come, which I am afraid is very distant beyond the period of my life, when an

honest man could not be in opposition ; I declare I should rejoice to find the patronage of a minister in the smallest degree my honour and interest. I never have pretended to any more than to prefer the former to the latter. But it is not upon me alone that you have poured forth your abuse, but upon every man of honour who has deserved well of the public ; and if you were permitted to proceed without interruption, there would shortly not be found one honest man who would not shudder to deserve well of the people.

The true reason of our dissention being made public, is, that you could not get on a step without it ; and you trust that the popularity of your name, and your diligence in paragraphing the papers, will outweigh with the people the most essential services of others ; and that you shall get rid of all control by taking away from those who mean well the confidence of the people. If you can once get them affronted by the public, whom they have faithfully served, you flatter yourself that disgust will make them retire from a scene where such a man as you are, covered with infamy like your's, has the disposal of honour and disgrace, and the characters of honest men at his mercy.

I mean to prove what I have said by facts, and though it does not come in the regular order of time which I meant to observe, nor with that strength with which a number of preceding transactions made it affect my mind, I will now mention one, which, with two or three others, made you despair of

using me in your plans, and made you hasten the rupture.

Some time in last July, when I was upon a visit to Mr. Alderman Oliver at Putney, you came there, and persuaded me to go with you to your house at Fulham, where I had never before been, that we might the next morning go together by water to London. In the boat you began with me a conversation about the city, as exactly as I can recollect to the following effect :

W. “ I think I ought to consider something about providing for my friends, and being prepared with candidates for the city-offices. Give me your opinion : Who do you think should be town-clerk ?

H. “ Why, is Sir James Hodges dead ?

W. “ No ; but he is not very young, nor in very good health ; and one ought to be prepared against accidents. There should always be a candidate fixed upon ready.

H. “ Since you have asked my opinion about it, I will give it you very freely : I think directly the contrary. Consider your situation ; your influence is not personal, but depends entirely upon the propriety of your measures. Though you may consider of the thing in your mind, you should never fix upon a candidate till the very time of election, nor talk about it to any one. The man that might be most proper this year may be very improper the next. It is your business when the time comes to consider who is the most fit for the office, and has the best claim to the favour of

the citizens ; and if those circumstances are nearly equal in different candidates, then to adopt him who is most likely to succeed : by which means the party you espouse will generally be victorious ; and you will have the credit of having carried many a candidate by your interest, when indeed he will be carried by the merits of his own pretensions : and should you at any time miscarry, your defeat will do you no harm ; for every one will acknowledge that your man ought to have succeeded ; and by seeing you always espouse the most worthy, the public will in time have a strong inducement to support your candidates, and will reasonably conclude that he is probably the most worthy whom you espouse : whereas, by following a different course, tho' you may succeed once or twice, your very successes will disgrace you, and ensure a future defeat.

W. “ All this may do very well in theory ; but Reynolds has done so much and is every day doing so much for me, that I think he ought to be fixed upon as town-clerk.

H. “ In my opinion you have fixed upon the last man in the city that should be thought of for that office ; and I may speak it the more freely, because Reynolds has experienced that I do not want an inclination to serve him. When he sent Mr. Tr—n to desire me to ask Mr. Sawbridge to appoint him his under-sheriff, he knows that there was not a minute between Tr——n's application to me and Mr. Sawbridge's granting my request : he knows too the steps I have since taken to serve him in that line. There is no-

thing improper in his being under-sheriff, because that is a *private* favour granted by the *sheriff*, who serves the office at a very great expence. But the lucrative city-offices are very different things; they ought always to be disposed of to the old citizens of long standing, not to those who make themselves free for the purpose; to men of respectable characters, who can plead services to the city; or at least to those who with equal merit have not perhaps been so successful as their neighbours, and are not so easy in their fortunes as their fellow-citizens think they deserve. Reynolds has not the least claim: he is a freeman only of yesterday; and you will certainly forfeit the esteem and support of the citizens, and narrow yourself to a very small circle indeed, if they see you endeavouring to confine all the emoluments of the city to your attornies, agents and particular adherents, to the exclusion of those who have long borne the burden of the city, and whose right those offices are. You ought on the contrary on these occasions to assist worth and merit wherever you find it, whether amongst your own party or out of it, or even amongst your adversaries; and by so doing your enemies will be less jealous of your power and less bitter, and the number of your friends will encrease as the approbation of your conduct encreases."

Mr. Wilkes seemed much chagrined, and did not at all relish my arguments, but turned the conversation to other subjects. About ten days afterwards Mr. Reynolds came to me, and told me he desired my ad-

vice and assistance ; that Mr. Wilkes had been talking to him about being town-clerk. I repeated to Mr. Reynolds the arguments I had used to Mr. Wilkes, with many others particularly affecting Mr. Reynolds ; and Mr. Reynolds told me he was convinced by what I had said, and should think no more of it.

On the *first* of *August* I went to Guildford, on account of the trial on my cause with Mr. Onslow. After the trial, about twenty of us dined together ; and after dinner Mr. Heaton Wilkes took me out into another room, and said to me,

H. Wilkes. “ Sir, I have a very particular favour to ask you. It is in your power to do me a very signal service, and you will oblige my brother at the same time : he has proposed to me to think about the chamberlainship : Sir Theodore Janssen has lately been very ill, and they do not expect him to live long.

H. “ But I believe you are not a Freeman of London, Mr. Wilkes, are you ?

Heaton W. “ No ; but I intend to take up my freedom.

H. “ Sir, I should be very glad to do you any proper service in my power, but you know I am not a liveryman.

Heaton W. “ I know that very well ; but you are connected in the city.

H. “ No, I have not the least connection with the city.

Heaton W. " You have friends in the city : Will you speak for me to Mr. Sawbridge, and to Mr. Townsend, who is here ? &c.

H. " Have you spoken to Mr. Bellas ?

Heaton W. " Not yet; but I intend to apply to him.

H. " You had better apply to him before you take any farther steps : there is nobody in the world so capable of advising you in this matter. He will tell you first whether the thing itself is proper, and whether it is fit for you to attempt it ; and if it is a proper measure, he is most able to inform you of the best steps to be taken for your success : Before you think any more of it, I advise you to consult him."

About ten minutes or a quarter of an hour after this conversation, I went in company with Mr. Alderman Oliver and Mr. Skey in a coach for London. I was scarcely in the coach before I told Mr. Oliver of the strange application which Mr. Heaton Wilkes had just made to me. Mr. Oliver seemed surprised that I had not heard of it before, and said Mr. Heaton Wilkes had already canvassed several people; that he had applied lately to Mr. Oliver, who had answered,—" If your brother is a candidate, I will give him my vote ;" to which Mr. Heaton Wilkes replied, that his brother would accept of no city-office, but was to have a share of the chamberlainship with him. Mr. Oliver answered, that if his brother was not a candidate, he should give his vote to the person that should appear to be the most proper. I then told Mr.

Oliver what had passed between Mr. Wilkes and me and Mr. Reynolds and me concerning the town-clerkship, &c. and expressed my apprehensions that if we did not continue to be very circumspect, Mr. John Wilkes would not only bring us all into disgrace, but make the very pretensions to honesty and public spirit for the future ridiculous in this country ; that it seemed to me that those ministerial pensions, emoluments, &c. which Mr. Wilkes had abjured, were honourable compared to this method of riding the city-offices, and thus making patriotism a stalking-horse to private advantage. Mr. Oliver, who was no stranger to all his other transactions, saw this in the same light that I did. He saw too that it would be in vain for us to deny *afterwards* that we had any share in this imposition ; and that every person supposed to be connected with Mr. Wilkes would likewise be supposed to be concerned in this scandalous treatment of the city ; and would therefore be involved in the same disgrace and suspicions. I went home with Mr. Oliver to Putney, and we there agreed that the best method would be to endeavour by all means to make him forego the *attempt*, and to keep it as much as possible a secret : If we could not do that, to oppose its success, and at least to secure ourselves from disgrace by a testimony of our sentiments on the subject *before* the attempt was made. For these purposes, on the *fourth* of August I sent to Mr. Heaton Wilkes the following letter from Mr. Oliver's house at Putney :

“ To Mr. HEATON WILKES.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Since I saw you at Guildford, I have considered on what you then said to me of your intentions about the chamberlainship of the city of London. That your brother should advise you to it most of all surprises me ; because I should have thought he would at the first glance have perceived that you must miscarry, and that the very attempt will do an irreparable injury to you, to himself, and to every one of his friends, as well as to the public cause and confidence, which ought to have the first place in his consideration.

“ I am not, as you very well know, a liveryman, or connected with the city ; but I see very plainly the necessity I shall be under of declaring in the most public manner my opinion of the matter to my acquaintance ; and this I must do in defence of my own reputation. You cannot be served this way ; but you may if you please expose yourself and your brother without advantage, and effectually prevent being served by any other means. If your brother thinks to be too cunning for the public, he will certainly find himself mistaken ; for as somebody has said, there is no cover large enough to hide itself. Why will not your brother when an occasion shall offer propose himself, if he judges it proper. I dare say he would meet with no opposition ; but for his own sake I

should not advise him to it. I am satisfied with his reasoning on that particular. Mr. Townsend went away as soon as you had spoken to me ; so that I had no opportunity of conferring with him as you desired, nor should I have done it suddenly and without reflection. If he, or any one else should ever speak to me on the subject, I think myself bound to declare my sentiments most strongly against it, because it has a dishonourable appearance, and is wrong : and I mean to keep a very strict guard over myself, that no private attachment, connection, interest or friendship, or fear of displeasing, shall ever make me consent to what my reason and honour cannot give an entire approbation. When I see you, I will explain to you as much at large, and as explicitly as you shall desire, all my objections to your scheme ; and I desire you to accept this letter as proceeding entirely from that friendly sincerity with which I wish you to believe me,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

August 4.

JOHN HORNE.

“ P. S. Pray shew this letter to your brother, that he may well weigh this affair, and receive from me, if he thinks it worth while, my farther reasons.”

Under examined copy of this letter Mr. Oliver at the same time wrote as follows :

“ The above is a literal copy of a letter sent by me for the Rev. Mr. Horne, on the 4th of August, 1770, to Mr. Heaton Wilkes. Witness my hand.

RICHARD OLIVER.”

Upon this letter I had afterwards some very unpleasant conversation with Mr. Heaton Wilkes, and not much better with Mr. John Wilkes, who denied that he had ever approved the measure ; but insisted upon it, that his brother had as good a right to be a candidate as any other person. Mr. Heaton Wilkes has continued his canvass, which he began many months before he was a freeman, down to this time, and was made free of the city of London on the 27th of last September.

JOHN HORNE.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R VII.

“ THE palm of fidelity and exactness (I think you say) “ shall be yielded to the Alderman of Far-
‘ ringdon-Without.” Do you mean the *fidelity* you exemplify by publishing private letters? or the *exactness* with which you discharge your obligations? Is there either *fidelity* or *exactness* in what you say a few lines afterwards? “ As to the *vestimenta pretiosa* of
“ *Eutrapelus* it ought undoubtedly to be—*his acquaintance*—not—*him*—*Whether* the printer or I made
“ the *trifling* mistake, *I do not recollect*.” Not recollect a circumstance of this kind at the distance of two days! you are very *exact* truly! The mistake itself is but a *trifling* one, and such as you have always been very apt to make, only a difference of *mens*

and *tuin*; and whether the bad character given by Horace relates to you or to me.

You re-quote that part of your letter of October 19, 1767, where it is said, "Send me likewise the account of the little horse, and I will pay the remainder to Mr. Panchaud." On this passage you make the following observation—"Pray, Sir, what is the meaning of the word *remainder* in that sentence? Why did you not print that word in italics?" Sir, the words in that sentence which I should chuse to print in italics are the words—"I will pay;" because whatever the "*remainder*" may be, you have not from that time to this moment, a distance of *four years*, ever paid a farthing of it. You say—you paid Mr. Wildman *seven guineas*—I shall use your own authority against yourself, which is indeed the only use that can fairly be made of it. In your letter to Mr. Wildman, dated April 30, 1767, (the date which was accidentally omitted) you say—"Shall I pay the 7 l. 10 s. to Foley and Panchaud on your account?"—You therefore acknowledge 7 l. 10 s. to be the *remainder* for the *horse*, independent of the other *commissions* which you immediately afterwards say, "*you will take care*" shall likewise be paid to Foley and Panchaud. The horse, furniture, and expences came to 12 l. 15 s. that is the charge made for them by Mr. Wildman. If you had paid *seven guineas*, why do you acknowledge the remainder to be 7 l. 10 s. The truth is, that at your departure you told Mr. Wildman you had *five guineas* more than

sufficient to carry you to Paris, and as there were some trifling articles to pay for, such as washing your linen; which were to be sent after you, &c. you gave him the *five* guineas on account: Which sum deducted from 12 l. 15 s. for your horse leaves exactly the *remainder* you acknowledged on the 30th of April, 1767, of 7 l. 10 s.

My letter told you that Mr. Reynolds asked Mr. Wildman at Bath either to subscribe the whole debt, or to take the composition paid by the London Tavern, and that Mr. Wildman refused. To which you reply, that Mr. Reynolds never applied to Mr. Wildman; and that this debt is not in the list of those which were delivered in. What sort of opinion must you have of the understanding of mankind, to imagine that such shuffling can impose upon any one?

You "EXPECT that every letter of yours should be left at Mr. Woodfall's." Sir, to cut this matter very short, if you do not speedily cause to be paid 39 l. 1 s. 7 d. due from you to Mr. Wildman, on the above accounts, you may EXPECT that the authenticity of your letters will be better proved than by leaving them at the printer's; since you deny the debt it will be proper to try the question; and let the success of the action determine the justice of Mr. Wildman's claim. And here, Sir, I will take the liberty to give you some advice which may be useful to you; and to recommend it I will convey it in the form most pleasing to you—*A quotation. — Hominem ingeniosum Marcum Antonium aiunt solitum esse dicere,*

*idcirco se nullam unquam orationem scripsisse
se quid aliquando non opus esset ab se esse dictum,
se negare dixisse.*

I perceive you do not chuse to deny having received the *pension* from some part of the Rockingham administration; but instead of it, give us a letter to Mr. Onslow on the 12th of December 1765. The word *precarious*, in that letter, is a very ugly reason for a patriot to give against accepting a *pension*, which was offered to him in order to keep him quiet abroad: But what shall we say if he afterwards received the money? I EXPECT you to give a *clear, unequivocal* answer on the subject; remembering always the above quotation. Why do you say nothing of the other extract from my letter about the expectations you had formed of being sent ambassador to Constantinople, a short time *before* your letter against the *Duke of Grafton* was published?

The extracts you have meanly made from my letter, had not the least relation to any thing in discussion; you gave them merely to injure me in my profession: It was needless. I gave up all hopes of preferment from the moment I first embarked in the public cause. I did then determine to be as prudent as I could; but, if it was necessary, to sacrifice all that I could call *my own*: I continue in the same resolution; and when I shall have spent the last farthing, I will retire and earn my bread before I eat it; and carrying with me my own approbation, I shall not blush when my elbow comes through my coat; nay,

Should I even be reduced to the state of our first parents, I should, like them, be *naked* without being *ashamed*.

JOHN HORNE.

TO THE PRINTER.

S I R,

IN my letter of the 18th, I thought it my duty to inform the public of several particulars relative to the conduct of Mr. Horne, that they might form a just opinion of his real character. His answer, in your paper of yesterday, leaves the most essential parts totally uncontradicted. His letter, however, is conceived in such trifling, impudent and scurrilous terms, that it does not become me, as a gentleman, to reply to it. I will not trouble the public with what does not concern them. It is in vain to keep up a correspondence with a man who signs his name to *ill-founded, personal invectives* every day. But I can, and will fully justify myself in every thing to the public. And I give a flat contradiction to his particular accusation about the affair of Mr. D'EON ; that is a *wilful*, as well as a *malicious* LYE. I defy Mr. Horne to prove this, or any other of his assertions against me in his letter of yesterday. I now call upon him for the *whole evidence* relative to the late business of Mr. D'Eon. I declare upon my honour, that I neither am, nor ever have been, concerned directly or indirectly, in any POLICY or POLICIES, about Mr.

D'Eon, as is infamously and falsely charged by him. And here I take my leave of parson Horne for ever, and deliver him over to my friend Mr. Wilkes, to be head as Apollo did Marfyas; and I now leave him, as A JUDAS, (*into whom the devil has entered*) to the mercy of his brethren of the black cloth, to be dealt with according to his demerit.

May 25. HUMPHRY COTES.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

S I R, Prince's Court, Tuesday, May 28.

I THANK you for the entertainment of your *sixth* letter. The idea of an *unfaithful echo*, altho' not quite new and original, is perfectly amusing; but, like Bayes, you love to elevate and surprize. I wish you would give the list of *echoes* of this kind, which you have heard in your travels through France and Italy. I have read of only one such in a neighbouring kingdom. If you ask, *How do you do?* it answers, *Pretty well I thank you.* The *sound* of your *unfaithful echo* can only be paralleled by Jack Hume's *silence* with a *stilly sound*, in the tragedy of Douglas:

The torrent *rushing* o'er it's pebbly banks
Infuses *silence* with a *stilly sound*.

I have heard of the *babbling*, the *music*, the *brill echo*. The discovery of an *unfaithful echo* was reserved for Mr. Horne. Really, Sir, I should have thought, not-

withstanding all your rage, you might have suffered an *eccho* to be *faithful*. I did not expect *novelty*, or *variety*, much less *infidelity*, from an *eccho*.

Every thing you have advanced relative to the town-clerkship and Mr. Reynolds, you well know to be wholly a lying imposture of your own. I never had a moment's conversation with you on the subject, nor have I at any time in my life mentioned to Mr. Reynolds his being town-clerk. I declare the whole of this accusation against me is one entire falshood. No courtier seems to me to enjoy the luxury of lying equal to the minister of New Brentford.

As to the chamberlainship, you, and many others, have warmly and frequently pressed me to offer my services in case of a vacancy. My answer has regularly been, "I never will accept it. I know it indeed to be the most lucrative office in the gift of the city, but I can be more useful in my present station. I am not avaricious. My wishes are now few, and easily gratified." All my friends know this has been my constant answer. Early in the last summer my brother started to me the idea of his offering his services for the chamberlainship on the first vacancy, and said that he hoped he should succeed both from his near relationship to me, and the interest of his private friends. I endeavoured to dissuade him from the project, which I thought would be hurtful to himself as well as to me.

I observed, that it would be suspected by those who did not know me, that I was to share the profits with

him, that I was infinitely superior to such ideas, ~~that~~ would in no way be concerned, that the chusing ^{one} brother for the service of another was the silly Popish doctrine of *imputed merit*, that he must necessarily quit his present business, &c. &c. I wished him earnestly at that time to abandon such a scheme. He was not convinced, but persisted in the resolution to offer his services. I was very explicit on the occasion. I told him, that he would have my vote, but that I would not speak to a single liveryman. I have had more than one conversation with Mr. Alderman Oliver on this subject, to whom I always talked in the same strain. Although he refused me justice in the appeal about the first letter signed *Scourge*, I call upon him to state to the public every thing, which has passed between us relative to the chamberlainship. My brother told me Mr. Horne absolutely promised him every service, when they met at Guildford on the first of August. On my return to town the beginning of September I saw Mr. Horne's letter, and I complained the first time I was with him of the illiberal treatment of me, and of his *dirty insinuations*. He said, I ought to advertise against my brother, if he stood candidate. I laughed at such a proposition, and remarked to him that in this *free country* my brother had a right in such a case to do as he liked, whether Horne or I approved or not, and as much claim to be a candidate as any other man, but I owned I thought the measure imprudent. You are forced to acknowledge, " Mr. John Wilkes denied that he had ever

“ approved the measure; but insisted upon it, that
 “ his brother had as good a right to be a candidate as
 “ any other person.”

In your former writings you painted me as a monster of *ingratitude*, sacrificing my best friends to my own private advantage. In the letter to Mr. Cotes you say, “ Mr. Wilkes, who never yet hesitated
 “ about sacrificing his friends for the *most trifling momentary* advantage to himself—” In this *sixth* letter I am drawn by the same painter as the most generous of mankind, thinking of nothing but *providing for my friends*, and *confining all the emoluments of the city to my attornies, agents, and particular adherents*, sacrificing the *public cause*, all my *own views*, and all my *patriotism*, to them——“ Reynolds has done so much
 “ and is every day doing so much for me, that I think
 “ he ought to be fixed upon as town-clerk.” “ I
 “ think I ought to consider something about providing for my friends, and being prepared with candidates for the city offices.” I was represented *before* as sacrificing my friends to my own private advantage, *now* I am made to sacrifice myself and the *great cause* to the private advantage of my friends. Is it possible, Sir, the same man could fit for both these pictures, and to the same artist? Such an artist must surely be as *unfaithful* as—an *echo*.

You say, “ I have been diligent to gain you powers
 “ which may be perverted to mischief.” I desire to know what “ powers *may not* be perverted to mischief?” and what *powers* have actually been *perverted*

to mischief by Mr. Wilkes, is the question? You insolently pretend to have made him an Alderman. Are the powers he exerted about the *press-warrants*, the illegal proclamation, the imprisonment of the printers, the delivering himself the recognizances into court against an express resolution of the House of Commons, are these the powers he has perverted to mischief? Come forward, Sir, with a single proof of his abuse of power.

You declare, "Such a practice would very well suit those who wish a change of ministers. For my part I wish no such thing." In this I believe you to be sincere, for you have *private hopes* from these traitors both to their king and country, and the strongest assurances that your present services shall not pass unrewarded. But did you not sign the *Middlesex petition* to his majesty, "to banish from his royal favour, trust, and confidence, for ever, those evil and pernicious counsellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of his majesty from his most sincere and dutiful subjects, and whose suggestions tend to deprive his people of their dearest and most essential rights," &c. &c.? Have we not nearly the same ministers now, and has not the *chancellor of the Exchequer* particularly distinguished himself against the sacred right of election? Yet you declare you do not wish the removal of the actual ministers. What have been all your efforts for the last four years? Have you been acting a lie, and pretending to bring about a thing in which you did not wish to succeed? The folly of

your present confession can only be equalled by the duplicity of your past conduct. Your treachery at length stands revealed by yourself to all mankind, but your *powers of mischief* are passed away never to return.

Your ~~seventh~~ letter of this day merits little notice. At last you are forced to say, that Mr. Wildman acknowledges the receiving *five* guineas, I declare the sum was *seven*, for the *horse*. Before I left England, I paid the article of *washing the linen*. Mr. Reynolds never did apply to Mr. Wildman about that *pretended debt*.

I left your *original* letters at the printer's to prove that I was *exact* in my quotations. I *expected* the same treatment from you, because I suspected that the passages cited from my letters were not correctly given, and a date was omitted. Your answer is a refusal to leave the *original* letters of mine for inspection at the printer's, and you add, " You may *EXPECT* that the authenticity of your letters will be better proved than by leaving them at the printer's." Can the *authenticity* of letters be better proved to the writer than by leaving them at the printer's? Let the public likewise have *attested* copies, if necessary. Your shuffling answer will not impose. I again insist that the *original* of every letter you have quoted, or shall quote, be left at Mr. Woodfall's in his custody for my perusal. As to your brother-in-law, Mr. Wildman, let him deliver his account *as oath*. I will follow him into Westminster-Hall.

When you mention the *injuring you in your profession*, recollect the unfair and unprovoked treatment of *Mr. Adair in his profession*. He surely has his *profession* at heart as much as the Rev. Mr. Horne. The *injury* of which you complain, is received from yourself, from a letter of your own, of which you kept a copy, published in consequence of the treachery of your own conduct. Scorpion-like, you have stung yourself to death.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

T O T H E P R I N T E R.

S I R,

IN his letter of this day, Mr. Horne says, “ Mr. Reynolds came to me and told me he desired my advice and assistance; that Mr. Wilkes had been talking to him about being town-clerk. I repeated to Mr. Reynolds the arguments I had used to Mr. Wilkes, with many others, particularly affecting Mr. Reynolds; and Mr. Reynolds told me he was convinced by what I had said, and should think no more of it.”

I declare upon my honour that I have never at any time had any conversation either with Mr. Wilkes or Mr. Horne about being town-clerk, and that the above paragraphs in Mr. Horne’s letter are absolutely false.

Lime-Street,
Monday, May 27.

JOHN REYNOLDS.

TO THE PRINTER.

S I R,

I N answer to Mr. *Cotes's* polite note of yesterday, I desire you to give this public notice in your paper, that—If any gentleman of honour and character will engage his honour and good faith to bring the affair of the POLICIES concerning D'Eon *seriously* before a court of justice, I will assist him *effectually* to produce sufficient evidence to prove that the whole is a fraud; and that the under-writers of those policies are discharged not only from all *legal* but from all *honourable* obligations of payment.

Vine-street, Piccadilly,
May 29, 1771.

JOHN HORNE.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

S I R,

I AM unwilling to interfere in the dispute between you and Mr. Horne, who have both deserved well of the public, and are so fully qualified to fight your own battles; but as I perceive a mistake in your last letter, where you mention my name, which it is in my power to correct, and as it is a position agreed, that the people have a right to truth, I cannot by my silence admit you to have given an exact representation of your conduct respecting Mr. Horne's letter from Montpellier.

The sentiment you would have the world adopt is, that the first production of that letter was in con-

sequence of what I said, and to corroborate your answer ; therefore not a wanton or designed publication of a private and confidential letter. I am persuaded, that no conversation passed between us, which can justify such a construction upon your conduct. I first heard of the letter, not from yourself, but from persons to whom you had previously shewn it ; and it was first produced to me at a meeting at the Devil Tavern, called the *Retribution Club*, where I believe I was at that time the only stranger to it's contents, amidst a dozen other gentlemen in the room, and before which time you had never spoken to me of such a letter. Some of the company asked me, " Whether I had not seen the letter which Mr. Wilkes had of Mr. Horne's ? " and as soon as the letter was mentioned, you produced it. I confess that I frequently took occasion, and probably did so at that meeting, to declare that Mr. Horne had made some such assertion as you mention ; because his former connection or intercourse with you, which he had then quitted, created the only difficulty in my mind respecting Mr. Horne's conduct, in other respects equally honourable to himself and serviceable to you. But your action is now coupled with my declaration, in a manner to which they have no relation.

Having rendered this justice to Mr. Horne, I shall be equally ready to do the same justice to you ; whenever I find him trespassing upon truth, either through wilfulness or mistake, in any matters which come immediately within my knowledge. As to the par-

ties who are now contesting, I have no reason to wish success on one side more than on the other; and I certainly shall not decide upon a dispute till it is ended. As yet, I may say with Lucan,

— *Quis justius induit arma*

Scire nefas; magno se jndice quisque tuetur.

It is the cause of liberty I wish to promote, and I care not by whose hand it triumphs. Of that cause alone I desire to be esteemed a partizan, and not of any individual. I have the honour to be,

With regard, S I R,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Lincoln's Inn,

May 27.

ROBERT MORRIS.

To ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.

S I R,

Prince's-Court, Wednesday, May 29.

IN your letter of this day you are pleased to say,
 “ I first heard of the letter, (*Mr. Horne's letter from*
 “ *Montpellier*) not from yourself, but from persons to
 “ whom you had previously shewn it; and it was first
 “ produced to me at a meeting at the Devil Tavern,
 “ called the *Retribution Club*, where I believe I was
 “ at that time the only stranger to it's contents, amidst
 “ a dozen other gentlemen in the room, and before
 “ which time you had never spoken to me of such a let-
 “ ter. Some of the company asked me, “ Whether
 “ I had not seen the letter which Mr. Wilkes had of

"Mr. Horne's?" and as soon as the letter was mentioned, you produced it. I confess, that I FREQUENTLY TOOK OCCASION, *and probably did so at that meeting, to declare that Mr. Horne had made some such assertion as yu mention.*" The fact is that you, Sir, had frequently said to several of your friends, "Mr. Horne told me he had *always* the *same* opinion of Mr. Wilkes;" and once to myself, *before* the meeting at the Devil Tavern. My answer had been to you, "Not *always* the *same*. When I see you next, I will convince you of it." I *knew* you were to dine at the meeting at the Devil Tavern. I brought the letter with me for your perusal. You came late. Several gentlemen before your arrival mentioned *your* declaration about what Mr. Horne had said. I then produced the letter, which was read before you came by the other gentlemen, and by yourself afterwards. You confirmed to us what had been said by Mr. Horne. I desire you to ask any of the *dozen gentlemen* present, whether I have not exactly stated the fact.

The letter from Montpellier is dated Jan. 3, 1766. Will you please, Sir, to name any one gentleman who read it prior to the late dispute between Mr. Horne and myself, and likewise to your own declaration, that "Mr. Horne told you he had *always* the *same* opinion of Mr. Wilkes."

I am, S I R,

Your very humble Servant,
JOHN WILKES.

TO THE PRINTER.

S I R,

I WILL not have any news-paper controversy with Mr. Wilkes ; but since he has called upon me, I will give my attestation to what I know.

Mr. Horne has told the truth as far as he has used my name in his letter to Mr. Wilkes.—It is likewise true that Mr. Wilkes did, after Mr. Horne's letter to his brother, deny to me that he approved his brother's attempt.

I never did refuse to do Mr. Wilkes justice : I was called upon in the Public Advertiser, Jan. 18, anonymously, but did not obey that anonymous call : Mr. Wilkes afterwards told me I ought to answer that call : I was of a different opinion : I should have answered it if Mr. Wilkes had put his name to it ; but I must have answered it contrary to his wishes, the fact not being as stated by him.

Fenchurch-Street,
30th May, 1771.

RICHARD OLIVER.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R VIII.

MR. COTES and Mr. Reynolds seem to *declare upon their honour* with as little scruple as Jews swear on the New Testament. Alas! the *policies* will enrich the one no more than the *town-clerkship* the other. And Mr. Wilkes, whose "*heart is at present*

"*too full to say one word, except his feelings of gratitude,*" will some time hence say to them, as he does now to Mr. Wildman—" Deliver in your account on oath : I will *follow* you into Westminster-Hall."—Mr. Wildman, Sir, will find you there.

Mr. Reynolds is a bold man, though he is made to blush so often. Some months since, before *forty* gentlemen at the London Tavern, I was driven to mention these scandalous views upon the *town-clerk's* and *chamberlain's* offices ; and from thence accounted for the treatment I received from some gentlemen in that society, because I could not concur in those things, and in some others of a like dishonourable nature. Mr. Reynolds is modest enough to blush, though not modest enough to avoid the occasion. Though I did not mention Mr. Reynolds's name aloud, he understood me : he blushed, was silent, and hung down his head : his confusion was visible to all present, and was increased by the harmless question of one gentleman, who innocently asked Mr. Reynolds whilst I was speaking, whom I meant about the town-clerkship ? To which Mr. Reynolds returned no answer, and yet was understood by his face. Afterwards he recovered himself sufficiently to deny it, privately in conversation, to several gentlemen : but he *then* gave a very different account to them from that which he *has now* declared upon his honour. He acknowledged a conversation between us on the subject ; but denied that he came to me, and insisted that I went to *his* house,

and proposed it to *him*. It is not pleasant to ask gentlemen to attest things in the papers ; however, if Mr. Reynolds will deny these circumstances, I am sure a sense of truth and honour will induce them very readily to give their attestation.

You endeavour to make me appear inconsistent, by “ supposing you at one time as sacrificing your friends “ to your own advantage, and at another time as sacrificing yourself and the *great cause* to the private “ advantage of your friends.” No such thing, Sir ; I have not so misrepresented you ; I allow that you *pretended* your *friends* and the *great cause* as each best suited your purpose ; but merely for your own private advantage, regardless of either.

You say (as you did before) that you did not approve your brother's attempt ; although, not approving it, he shall have your vote. You said so, it is true ; but I did not believe the truth of what you said. Your brother used the argument of your *approbation* very strongly to me as well as to others. I know that, like you, he has since chosen to deny it. Unfortunately for you both, Sir, he has made a *written* application. He applied to me on the *first* of August. On the *fourth* I wrote him the letter which I have published. On the *sixth* he wrote thus to Mr. Bellas, addressed to him at Farnham in Surrey.

St. John Square 6 Augst 1770

“ Sir,

“ I applied the last court day to Mr. Towers to nominate me at the meeting of the fishmongers com-

pany, as Mr. Pearson was out of town he did not chuse to risk it, he said Mr. Sawbridge's refusal had made them very angry. Their fine is raised from £. 15 to £. 25. and the livery about twenty pounds, wⁿ. you have a little leisure I should be exceedingly obliged to you if you would favor me wth. a few lines & whatever directions you give I shall always be happy to act wth. y^r. approbation.

“ A short time past I hear a vacancy had like to have happened in the chamberlains office. S^r. S. T. Jansen was dangerously ill. My brother is firmly determin'd not to *accept* any place in the city ; & as he *very kindly has assured me he should approve of my offering my services to the city* when a vacancy was to happen, & *would do me all the service in his power*, it would make me very happy if you would give me your advice, and should my design of offering myself meet wth. your approbation, I am sure the livery of London are so sensible of the *very great obligations* they lie under to you & *my brother* I should certainly succeed.

I am S^r.

Y^r. much oblig'd

& most obedient Servant

HEATON WILKES.”

Now, Sir, what subterfuge? Did you approve, or did you not? If you did *not* approve, what credit can for the future be given to your brother? And whose testimony will you employ to prove that you were

not to have a *share* in the office ? You are very discreet when you refuse to “ *accept* any place in the “ city.” The disposal of *all* would be much more lucrative to you than the possession of *one* ; and if, instead of a *share*, your candidates were all able, like Mr. Reynolds, to *advance* the price of the office, your gain would be less *precarious*.

Will you content yourself, as you have hitherto done, to deny all and leave it on your own bare authority ? I believe you will ; for I know that you cannot defend yourself a moment without being driven to an impudent manifest contradiction of the most consistent circumstances ; the best attested truths ; the most notorious facts ; and the clear testimony of some of the most respectable public men in the world, I mean Mr. Oliver, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Glynn, Sir Robert Bernard, Mr. Bellas, Mr. Lovell, &c. &c. These, with a great number of other gentlemen of considerable character in private stations, have been witnesses to the whole of my conduct ; to them I shall be forced frequently to appeal, and with the most perfect confidence I trust my character to their *affirmations* ; against the declarations *upon honour* of such men as Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Humphry Cotes.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Worthy LIVERYMEN of the City of
LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

MR HORNE having drawn my name out very unfairly in a dispute in which I apprehend I am not the least concerned, I feel myself under the necessity of justifying my conduct from the false and malicious charges which Mr. Horne has *wantonly* brought against me, to prejudice me in a pursuit, which I trust you, Gentlemen, will think fair and honourable.

Last August there was too much reason to apprehend a vacancy in the Chamberlain's office.

Prefuming that my near relationship to John Wilkes, Esq. could be no objection to my offering my services to you, I applied to Mr. Horne and Mr. Bellas for their assistance. Mr. Horne's answer was, Mr. Wilkes, you know I am no liveryman, but I will do you all the service in my power. I then added, Mr. Horne, I am not *intimate* with Mr. Townsend, *you are*, I shall be much obliged to you if you will speak to *him*. This was all that passed. In this, as on many other occasions, Mr. Horne has thought fit to change his opinion, and to charge me with a conduct, I should be as much ashamed of, as of the part he is *now* acting.

Mr. Horne's declaration that I canvassed some months before I was a freeman, and have continued

it to this time, is a shameful falshood. After I mentioned it to my brother, I told my intentions to many of my friends. I declare on my honor I have not to this hour asked any one liveryman for his vote. From my friends I met with a general approbation of my intentions; and when our worthy and able Chamberlain quits the post, I can claim many unasked promises.

Gentlemen, though from Mr. Horne's lying accusations, my brother, from the delicate sense he has of his public situation, may not chuse I should claim any merit from our connection, I hope near-relationship will not be imputed to me as a *demerit*; and I am satisfied the *only* reason why my brother disapproves of my intention, is the report he was to have a share.

I desire to appeal to Mr. Oliver for the truth of the following conversation which passed at his house at Putney, on which Mr. Horne has grounded his charge of my brother intending to have a share.

Mr. Oliver told me that as he and his brother had subscribed so very largely, Mr. Wilkes's family and particularly myself ought to have contributed more. I told him I had at first subscribed one hundred guineas towards the payment of my brother's debts, and he knew several sums I had paid since; that I had not been in a profitable trade, and my fortune was very far from large; that should I succeed by the generosity of the livery, I should then have it in my power, and it had always been my wish to be able to assist my brother more liberally.

Long may our present upright Chamberlain hold the office ; and give me leave to declare, with all due respect, that whenever a vacancy shall happen, I shall take the earliest opportunity of offering my services. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient Servant,

St. John's Square,
31 May, 1771.

HEATON WILKES.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

S I R,

Prince's Court, Friday, May 31.

YOUR *eighth* letter respects Mr. Cotes and Mr. Reynolds more than Mr. Wilkes. Whether either of those gentlemen will think it worth their while to answer a man, whose character for veracity has long been forfeited, I cannot say : my own strictures shall be few.

You declare, “ Some months since before *forty* gentlemen at the London Tavern I was driven to “ mention these scandalous views upon the *town-clerk's* and *chamberlain's* offices.” At the meeting on the 11th of last December, *after I was gone*, you abused me for near two hours, and was frequently called to order. You threw out many dark and suspicious insinuations, but did not mention, as I am told, a single word of the *town-clerk's* or *chamberlain's* office. I complained of the baseness of your conduct to several of my friends, to Mr. Sawbridge in particular. I told him, that from motives of deli-

cacy, as my own private affairs were frequently the subject of the society's deliberations, I had hitherto always retired early, but that at the next meeting I meant to desire their permission to continue the whole time, to answer any questions, either of a public or private nature, and to give the fullest explanation possible of every thing. The next meeting was on the 22d of January. It was very full. I then took notice to the society, "That many oblique invectives had been thrown out against me at the former meeting *after my departure*, that I had hitherto made it a rule to retire before any private business relative to myself became the subject of their deliberations, lest my presence should be thought to influence any gentleman, that the most unfair advantage had been taken of this to calumniate me *in my absence*, but that, with the permission of the society, I should continue among them that whole evening; and I desired any gentleman who had the least doubt about any part of my conduct, public or private, to state the doubt, and the most explicit answer should directly be given to every particular; that I had no reserves of any kind for that society, that I should be unworthy of their protection, if I did not fully explain to them the whole of my conduct, all my past actions, all *future views* for myself, relations, or friends, of which I was suspected, and that I knew them to be fair and honourable, able to stand the test of the most rigid enquiry." What was your reply? You only said

that you thought I meant to attack you, and that I had not been *named* by you. I answered, " I stand
 " in the memory of the society, if for near two hours
 " together *you* had not at the last meeting made a
 " continued invective against me, and been upon that
 " account several times called to order." You did
 not venture to deny it. I called upon you again to
 bring any one charge against me, and to state your
 objections to any part of my conduct. I added, that
 I wished for the fullest enquiry, that I despised the
 idea of secrets or subterfuges before gentlemen of
 known honour, and that the manly way was for you
 then to stand forth, and to bring the accusation *face to*
face. You shrunk back, covered with confusion and
 rage. The society on *the same day*, notwithstanding the
 opposition you made, gave the world their sentiments
 of me in the resolution, " That the public conduct
 " of Mr. Alderman Wilkes, since his enlargement
 " from the King's Bench prison, has been such as me-
 " rits the approbation of this society." From that
 moment *you* have incessantly laboured the dissolution
 of that noble and patriotic society, against which
 neither your open attacks, nor your secret frauds,
 will prevail.

You ask, " If Mr. Reynolds will deny these cir-
 cumstances," which you have mentioned as *what*
 passed in private conversation at the London Tavern
 relative to himself? He has already declared to the
 public, " That he never at any time had any *conver-*
 " sation with you about being *town clerk*."

Your answer to Mr. Cotes is evasive. You said that *he* was *nearly concerned* in the *fraudulent business* of *D'Eon's policies*. He has dared you to the proof. Have you advanced one word to bring that charge home to *him*? Have you disproved any article of the charges he made against you for your *public conduct* in the business of the *Middlesex* and *Surrey* petitions? Among your wonderful qualifications you possess the singular ingenuity of *reconciling* friends, who both tell you that they *never quarrelled*. The man in the world, who has the least *milk of human kindness*, whose whole composition is rancour and malevolence, who has carried the torch of discord from friend to friend, now pretends to set up for the amiable character of being *fond to spread friendships, and to cover heats*.

In my former letter I called upon Mr. Alderman Oliver "*to state to the public every thing which has passed between us, relative to the chamberlainship.*" You did not mention any conversation between Mr. Oliver and me: you confined yourself to what passed between the Alderman and my brother. In his answer of this day Mr. Oliver says, "It is likewise true that Mr. Wilkes did, after Mr. Horne's letter to his brother, deny to me that he approved his brother's attempt." I again, Sir, call for the *whole* of every conversation between the two aldermen on the subject. He has confirmed *one* particular: he ought to confirm the rest.

Mr. Oliver says, "I never did refuse to do Mr.

“ Wilkes justice: I was called upon in the Public Advertiser, Jan. 18, anonymously, but did not obey that anonymous call:—Mr. Wilkes afterwards told me I ought to answer that call: I was of a different opinion: I should have answered it if Mr. Wilkes had put his name to it; but I must have answered it contrary to his wishes, the fact not being as stated by him.” The passage alluded to in the Public Advertiser of Jan. 18, is as follows:

“ Quere to Mr. Alderman Oliver.

“ Did not Mr. Alderman Wilkes tell you at Guildhall, the day after the first appearance of the letter signed *Scourge*, that he was not the author, nor was he concerned in it directly or indirectly, nor did he know of the publication; and did you not communicate this intelligence to Mr. Horne?” Mr. Oliver’s name had appeared in the papers *the day before* in a controversy between Mr. Horne and an *anonymous* author, to save Mr. Horne, as he thought; but he had *refused Mr. Wilkes justice*. I now repeat the *quere*, and desire that it may be answered, and whether I did not mention to him in confidence the *real* author, and how I came by my information? Will the Alderman please likewise to explain in what our *political aims* differ?

You pretend to appeal to “ the clear testimony of “ some of the most respectable men in the world,” and you give us a list of names, as of your friends, and of persons ready to confirm your assertions. How came you to omit the *honoured* name of your bosom

friend, *Samuel Vaughan*, esquire, whom you have always defended? He might possibly be made more useful than the whole list you have given. I desire you to bring the testimony of Mr. Sawbridge, or Mr. Glynn, to any one fact which has been disputed. Do you now dare to mention Mr. *Glynn* in the list of your friends, when you know what character you gave of my worthy colleague, that great and upright lawyer, to several gentlemen, whose attestations are ready, when called upon, concluding with these remarkable words: "I do not know which is most contemptible, his head or his heart?" Will you deny this fact, or that you wrote the letter to the freeholders of Middlesex, signed *A Freeholder of Stanwell*, printed in the Public Advertiser, in which you say, "I know " Mr. Glynn's principles to be as firm; and *his heart* " *as incorruptible* as his conduct is modest and moderate, and *his abilities uncontradicted?*" That letter concludes, "Complete your work, and place by the " side of your *glorious, persecuted patriot Wilkes*, his " strenuous and disinterested defender, *Glynn.*" No man has ever so grossly contradicted himself, and so much profaned the *sacred* name of *friend*, as Mr. Horne. Mr. Morris's letter proves that you declared to him, "You had *always the same* opinion of Mr. " Mr. Wilkes," and your letter from Montpellier demonstrates that you were guilty of a falsehood, when you made that declaration.

You have examined the *original* letters, which I left at the printer's. I am sure you found my quota-

tions exact. I repeat that I expect the like opportunity of examining the quotations you have made.

The first paragraph of your *eighth* letter is the last on which I shall remark. You say, " Mr. Cotes " and Mr. Reynolds seem to *declare upon their honour* with as little scruple as Jews swear on the " New Testament." Pray, Sir, where do *Jews swear on the New Testament*? Is it in the country of *unfaithful echoes*? In England, and every other country I know, *Jews swear on the Old Testament*. There is a Pentateuch provided on purpose for the *oaths* to be administered to Jews in all our courts of justice and public offices. You are as unlucky now in your account of the *oaths* to be taken by the Jews, as you were a few weeks ago about the *sheriff's oath*, which you *falsified*. I wish to know what *oath*, on what book, *old* or *new*, is likely to bind an *atheist* parson. The *honour* of Mr. Cotes and Mr. Reynolds will I dare say remain unspotted till *Jews are sworn on the New Testament*.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

TO THE PRINTER.

S I R,

AS Mr. Horne in his eighth letter to Mr. Wilkes has thought fit to continue the *story* about my being town-clerk, I shall submit the following facts to the

public: They will best determine on which side truth lies.

The beginning of June last I accompanied Mr. Horne to several gentlemen's houses in Westminster for subscriptions for the widow Bigby. Upon our return into the city, Mr. Horne told me that Mr. Wilkes and he had been talking about me; that Mr. Wilkes had proposed to him that I should stand for the office of bailiff of the Borough in case of a vacancy, as I had as good a claim to public favour as Mr. Beardmore. I instantly replied, that I had no intention of being a candidate for that, *or any other* *city office*; and that I would assist Mr. Beardmore in his election. Not a word passed then, or at any other time, about the office of *town-clerk*.

On the 5th of February last, Mr. Crofsley, late one of the common-council of Bishopsgate-ward, came to my house between seven and eight in the evening, and desired to speak to me; but being informed that I was not at home, but in the neighbourhood, he told Mr. Baunton (who was then my clerk) that the bailiff of the Borough was exceedingly ill, and likely to die, and that many friends to the cause wished that I might succeed him, Mr. Beardmore being dead. Mr. Baunton came to me at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, and reported Mr. Crofsley's message; when I immediately desired Mr. Baunton to thank Mr. Crofsley and the other friends; that I was exceedingly obliged to him and them for their kind offers; but that I should not be a candidate

for *that or any other city office* at present. I saw Mr. Crofsley a day or two after, and repeated the declaration to him.

On the 23d of March laſt, Mr. Bellas, and Mr. Rix of the town-clerk's office, dined with me at my houſe in Lime-ſtreet. After dinner I aſked Mr. Bellas why he ſtayed ſo long in the country from public buſineſs; when he answered, he came at laſt very reluctantly, and was very unhappy to find a diſunion amongſt our friends; that he underſtood that Mr. Wilkes would hurt the public cauſe by *jobbing the city*; for that Mr. Horne and Mr. Alderman Townſend had been down with him lately at his houſe at Farnham, and told him that Mr. Heaton Wilkes was to be chamberlain of London; that I was to be town-clerk, and had advanced Mr. Wilkes 200 l. in conſideration of his ſervices in the election. I immediately informed Mr. Bellas that the whole was a fiction; that I never had directly or indirectly converſed with Mr. Wilkes about that or any other city-office. Mr. Bellas then ſaid, I was talking with ſome friends yeſterday, and we all agreed you might properly ſtand for bailiff of the Borough; Mr. Beardmore being dead, you are the proper perſon. I thanked him and my friends for their good wiſhes, and declared that I was determined not to ſtand at preſent for that, *or any other city-office*.

Mr. Crofsley will atteſt that I have told the truth as far as I have uſed his name.

Mr. Bellas, and I trust Mr. Rix, will also attest as to the truth of what passed on the 23d of March.

I have shewn this account to Mr. Bellas and Mr. Crossley so far as it concerns them.

I call upon the gentlemen to whom Mr. Horne alludes to declare all that they know of any declarations of mine, either at the London Tavern, or any other place, relative to this subject; and whenever the truth of my assertion shall be doubted by any one, except the *minister of New Brentford*, I will not appeal to acquaintances of *yesterday*, but to gentlemen that have known me upwards of twenty years last past, and that are no ways interested in the present dispute.

Mr. Horne in his former letter speaks of private favours, and his inclination to serve me. On a fair stating of accounts, he will be obliged to admit that the balance is in my *favour*.

If I should hereafter stand a candidate for any honorary or lucrative city-office, all the assistance I shall wish from Mr. Horne is, that he will take a part against me, as the best recommendation to my fellow-citizens.

Lime-Street, Saturday, June 1, 1771.

JOHN REYNOLDS.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R IX.

IT is easy to perceive by your letters that you are of opinion with the countryman, who being asked

what he was sowing, replied, I am sowing fools.—Why don't you rather sow wise men?—Because they don't grow here.—I believe, Sir, you may perhaps for one season more have a pretty plentiful crop; but depend upon it, there are speedily coming upon you long years of famine. For my own part, I have not the least desire to convince those who are not convinced by your own letters, especially by that letter which your brother has signed in last Friday's paper.

It consists of *accusations* against me, and *recommendations* of Mr. Heaton Wilkes.

The accusations are,

1. That I have drawn out Heaton Wilkes's name *unfairly*.

2. That I have *wantonly* brought *false* and *malicious* charges against him to prejudice him in a *fair* and *honourable* pursuit.

3. That I am *intimate* (in *Italics*) with Mr. Townsend.

4. That I have changed my opinion.

5. That I have acted a part of which Mr. Heaton Wilkes would be ashamed.

6. That I have uttered a *shameful falsehood* in declaring, that he *canvassed* some months before he was a freeman, and has continued it to this time.

7. That I have made *lying accusations*.

1. It cannot be *unfair* for me, when driven to it, to tell the cause of all the abuse which *you* have poured

upon me and others. I could not join with you in many infamous impositions upon the public : (your attempt upon the chamberlainship was of that number) if I could not silently prevent, it was my duty to oppose them : my repeated and obstinate refusals raised your resentment and apprehensions : what I would not assist, you feared I should obstruct : your revenge and policy therefore urged you to an attack ; and had I been in a situation like Mr. Garrick's, at the mercy of a momentary delusion of the public, I might perhaps like him * have yielded to your unreasonable displeasure; though I think that with half his merit I should have had twice his courage. But mine is a very different situation : I have no more to expect from the public than from any minister present or future ; and if I should ever solicit either, I do now bespeak their refusal : ministerial and court favour I know I can never have, and for public favour I will never be a candidate ; I chuse to tell them that, as far

* Whilst Mr. Wilkes was in the King's Bench, he sent a threatening message to Mr. Garrick to forbid his playing the part of Hastings in the tragedy of Jane Shore ; on account of some lines in that play which Mr. Wilkes thought applicable to his own situation. Mr. Garrick complained exceedingly of the cruelty of such an interdict, and wished to be permitted to proceed in his endeavours to please the public in the common course of his profession. The patriot was inexorable ; and Mr. Garrick has not appeared in that character since. The old-chamberlain's controul, by act of parliament, over theasures of the public, is exercised only over new plays.

as it affects myself, I laugh at the displeasure of both. Though I knew not the person of any one man in opposition, I quitted all my friends and connections when I joined the public cause, and with my eyes open exchanged ease and fair fame for labour and reproach: However I was always determined not to be engaged by party in any thing my mind did not approve; and if I could not do good, to retire as I came—" *alone*, " but not *dishonoured*."

2. They who are not satisfied with the proofs I have given that the charges concerning the chamberlainship are true, and who think the *joint* attempt of *John* and *Heaton Wilkes* upon that office to be a *fair* and *honourable pursuit*, are welcome to believe me *wantonly false* and *malicious*.

3. " I have reason to be well persuaded that no part of Mr. Townsend's conduct will ever set my principle at variance with my private friendship." I am justly proud of that *intimacy* which you would make my reproach; and for his sake will be the more careful of my actions, that he may never be reproached for me.

4. I have not changed my opinion of you since I knew you at all, except in *degree*: in that I think I am excusable: my small experience of mankind and my reading, even the exaggerated bad characters of plays and romances, had never furnished me with any example of a character so hideous as yours: should I ever find a second *John Wilkes*, my whole system of philosophy would be altered.

5. Of what will Mr. Heaton Wilkes henceforward be ashamed?—In his letter to Mr. Bellas, inserted in last *Thursday's* paper, he says, “My brother has kindly assured me he should APPROVE of my offering my services to the city.” In his letter of Friday (the very next day after the appearance of the first) he says, “The only reason why my brother DISAPPROVES of my intention, &c.”—In his letter to Mr. Bellas he says, “My brother kindly assured me he would do me *all the service in his power*.” Yet he submits entirely to his brother’s contradictory assertion in last Wednesday’s paper, that John Wilkes told Heaton Wilkes he would in *no way* be concerned, and would *not speak to a single liveryman*.” In his letter to Mr. Bellas, “the *very great obligations* the livery lie under to *his brother*” are made the *foundation* of his assurance of success. In his letter of Friday last, he only “presumes that his near relationship to John Wilkes, ESQUIRE, could be *no objection*, and will not be imputed as a *demerit*.”

6. To prove the *shameful falshood* of my declaration, that Heaton Wilkes *carvassed* some months before he was a freeman, and has continued it to this time, what does he say?—“I declare *on my honour* (*a third honourable man*) I have not to this hour asked any one liveryman for his vote.”—“I applied to Mr. Horne and Mr. Bellas for their assistance.—I added, I shall be much obliged to you (Mr. Horne) if you will speak to Mr. Townsend.—AFTER I

mentioned it to my brother, I *told* my intention many of my friends: I met with a *general* approbation; (this too I suppose *on his honour*) I can claim many *unasked* promises."—*Unasked!* In the name—(what shall I say? By what can the Wilkes's be conjured?)—In the name of your own interest, us, of what kind were the applications your brother made? and what is to be understood by the concluding lines of his public address to the livery of London who "lie under those *very great obligations* to you? What is the meaning of these words—"Give leave to declare with all due respect, that whenever a vacancy shall happen I shall take the earliest opportunity of offering my services."—How can a candidate *before a vacancy* be declared more publicly?

To the 7th charge I make no farther reply.

In your brother's address to the livery, I can find but two articles of recommendation on which ground his pretensions:

1. His near relationship to John Wilkes, Esquire, as he terms his brother; and,

2. That the chamberlainship will enable him assist the said John Wilkes, Esquire, more liberal

This *near relation* to John Wilkes, Esquire (who is now desirous to assist him more liberally) is pressed very earnestly by Mr. T. B. a stranger to them both, to join with him in bailing a debt for the Esquire when he was arrested during the city election; but not having then a chamberlainship in view he obstinately refused, and the very bailiff who:

rested his brother joined, through indignation, with Mr. T. B. in bail for this *near relation*.

If “ Mr. Reynolds’s *honour* will (as you say) remain unspotted till Jews are ~~sworn~~ (by direction of court I suppose you mean) on the New Testament,” his testimony must then be admitted by you to prove that your *near relation*, being himself out of the scrape, advised John Wilkes, Esquire, to run away from his bail. *Par nobile fratrum!*

Upon the whole, I allow there could be no objection of *inconsistency in their choice*, if the livery should chuse to return you both as *sheriffs* together, or to the court of aldermen for the office of *lord-mayor*; but unfortunately for your scheme in question, the election for the *chamberlainship* is not used to bring forth TWINS.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

S I R, Prince’s Court, Thursday, June 6.

Y O U R *ninth* letter has relieved me not a little by taking me to the theatre, and recalling to my delighted remembrance the amazing powers both of nature and art in the most wonderful genius that ever trod the English, or perhaps any stage; for his rival, Roscius, had a great defect, *erat perversissimis oculis*. You say, “ Whilst Mr. Wilkes was in the King’s Bench, he sent a threatening message to Mr. Garrick to

“ forbid his playing the part of *Hastings* in the
 “ gedy of *Jane Shore*; on account of some
 “ that play which Mr. Wilkes thought applicable
 “ his own situation. Mr. Garrick complained
 “ exceedingly of the cruelty of such an interdiction.
 The whole of this pompous tale is, that some
 friends of Mr. Wilkes imagined that Mr. Wilkes
 acted the part of *Hastings* at that time in a
 very different from what he had usually performed.
 He marked too strongly some particular passages
 favourable to the generous principles, and to the
 love of freedom. They talked of expressing their
 disapprobation in the theatre, at the next representation
 of *Jane Shore*, and likewise in the public prints. Mr.
 Wilkes therefore thought it prudent to state the case
 to three gentlemen to Mr. Garrick himself, as
 he feared the part of *Hastings* might bring on
 disagreeable consequences to the great actor
 as well as to Mr. Wilkes and his connections,
 and continued in the manner then stated. Mr. Garrick
 received the friendly admonition in the most
 proper way; but declared that the gentlemen who had
 told Mr. Wilkes the account of his acting *Hastings*
 were greatly mistaken; that he had not made the
 alteration in the usual manner of acting that part
 on account of the political disputes of the times, but
 solely guided by his own feelings; that he always
 acted that part, and always should play it in the
 same manner, not however slavishly copying himself
 with all the variety which from time to time

nus might dictate, preserving still the cast and spirit of the original character. Nothing more passed on this subject between Mr. Garrick and me, nor has that gentleman ever expressed the slightest displeasure against Mr. Wilkes, or his friends, so far has he been from *complaining exceedingly of the cruelty of an interdix*, which never existed.

Did it escape your memory, Sir, that one of the objections made at that time by my friends, was the peculiar emphasis Mr. Garrick was said to give to the following lines of *Hastings*, which some *thought applicable to your situation*?

“ Ill befall

“ Such *meddling priests*, who kindle up confusion,

“ And vex the quiet world with their *vain scruples* ;

“ By Heaven 'tis done in perfect spite to peace ?”

You say, “ I think with half his (Mr. Garrick's) merit I should have had twice his courage.” If you mean *theatrical merit*, I can tell you of some parts in which you would infinitely exceed our great English actor. I mean all those parts from which—*fugiant pudor, verumque, fidesque. In quorum subeunt locum fraudes, dolique, infidiæque, &c. &c.* You would *act, and be, Iago* with success. Mr. Garrick has that *in him*, which must ever prevent his acting well in that character. You have that *in you*, which would make it easy and natural. *Shylock* too our *Roscus* must never attempt. The Christian priest of Brentford has no

vain scruples to prevent his undertaking and being applauded in that part. He might then talk of *dying his black coat red with blood* in an innocent way on the stage, which at Brantford inspired a savage horror.

The pleasing hours which Mr. Garrick gave me at the King's Bench I have deducted from the injury of a long and cruel imprisonment, and I think of him as Cicero did of the great Roman actor, *Cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse, qui in scena spectetur : tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui eo non accedat.*

In a former letter I called upon you to authenticate the fact of the draft you pretended I offered you for *fifteen hundred pounds* on the Saturday before the first Middlesex election. I desired you "to tell the "banker's name, and the name of Mr. ———, of "which you did not even give the initials." I have now, Sir, the permission of that gentleman to state to the public the whole of what passed between us in his presence.

(COPY.)

"To JOHN WILKES, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"You are welcome to make what use you please of my letter of the 24th ult. in which I mentioned the business, as far as I recollect, of the conversation between you and Mr. Horne at the King's Arms.

Your's, &c.

June 4, 1771,

W KENRICK."

(COPY)

"To JOHN WILKES, Esq.

"S I R, Warwick-Street, May 24, 1771.

"I AM sorry to find you have publicly called on Mr. Horne to name the person who was with you at the King's Arms; when, he says, you offered him a draft on "your banker for fifteen hundred pounds." Surely you recollect it to be one who has hitherto avoided meddling in party matters; to which his talents and temper are as little adapted as his station. He would be loth, therefore, to have his attention now diverted from very different pursuits, by an altercation between men of genius and letters; for whom he could wish ever to entertain a proper respect. The improbability of the assertion would have excused you from requiring any personal testimony to confute it: and the agitation, into which Mr. Horne was then put by the insult just offered him, might also excuse his not perfectly recollecting, so long afterwards, the particulars of your conversation. Your own concern, at that time, may likewise have possibly prevented your remembrance of the circumstances attending it. I was an unruffled, indifferent spectator. You were both standing, at the top of the stairs, when I came up to you; Mr. Horne being warmly expostulating with you on the affront he had received. He repeated the word *preamble* with great emphasis and disdain; the chairman of your committee, it seems, said to him, *Come, Sir, none of your preamble.* This

Mr. Horne seemed to dwell on, as a mark of illiterate vulgarity, and, I well remember, took on himself the privilege of a scholar accordingly to call him *block-head*. I do not remember that, in compliance with his opinion, you did, as he says, supplicate him not to be offended at such "creatures" as blockheads. Yet this you might have done hypothetically, without intending any affront to your committee. But if you did not call them "creatures," I know who did; and I thought with propriety; for, whatever either he or you might think of them, "creatures" they were, and strange *creatures* too, some of them, God knows! I made no scruple therefore to say so. If this be a sin, it lies at my door; and, as you are charged with sins enow of your own to answer for, it is certainly a little hard you should be burthened with any of mine. And yet, even for this, you may in some measure blame yourself. Before you had brought me acquainted with your friend *Horne*, you should have reflected on the advice of our old friend HORACE,

*Qualem commendes, etiam atque etiam inspice; ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.*

I hope, however, you will not repeat the question to Mr. Horne; and I have reason to think he will take no notice of it; as seriously I did not hear a single word about the draft, though I staid with you till your conversation took another turn. Of this I am the more confident, as I am certain I should have laughed most heartily at hearing you talk, at that time, of

having " more money than enough at your bankers," and giving a draft of *fifteen hundred* pounds for defraying the expence of an open house or two at Brentford. Your first Middlesex election was carried, by the loss of that for London, at Guildhall. Had it not, Mr. Horne might have opened all the houses in the county; you would have lost it. And this you knew too well to have ventured half the money, even though you should have really had " more than enough;" which, I am persuaded, men of your liberal disposition never will have.

" I am, S I R,

" Your humble Servant,

W. KENRICK."

You assert, " Though I knew not the person of
 " any one man in opposition, I quitted all my friends
 " and connections when I joined the public cause;
 " and, with my eyes open, exchanged ease and fair
 " fame for labour and reproach." I desire to know what one friend, and what single connection, you have quitted for the public cause? Your *fair fame* at Eton and Cambridge survived a very short time your abode at either of those places. Will you call an Italian gentleman now in town, your confidant during your whole residence at *Genoa*, to testify the morality of your conduct in Italy?—But I will not write the life of Jonathan Wild, nor of orator Henley.

You declare, " *Ministerial and court favour* I know
 " I can never have, and for *public favour* I will never

“ be a candidate: I chuse to tell them that, as far as
 “ it affects myself, *I laugh at the displeasure of both.*”
 You well know that no minister will ever dare *openly*
 to give you any mark of *court favour*, at least in the
church: many *secret favours* you may, you do, ex-
 pect, and some I believe actually receive. The public
 you have abandoned in despair, after an assiduous
 courtship of near four years; but remember, Sir, when
 you say, that *you laugh at their displeasure*, the force
 of truth has extorted even from lord Mansfield the
 following declaration: “ The people are almost al-
 “ ways in the right: the great may sometimes be in
 “ the wrong, but the body of the people are always
 “ in the right.”

‘ I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

J O H N W I L K E S.

T O T H E P R I N T E R.

S I R,

I HOPED never to have seen my name and Mr.
 Horne’s on the same paper; but a sense of honour ob-
 liges me to answer his attack in his ninth letter to my
 brother.

At the time of the city-election, I was the first per-
 son who signed my name and made myself account-
 able as bail for my brother; the amount was larger
 than prudence (having a family) could justify.

After that I believe T. B. applied to me to give

farther bail; I then acknowledge I refused; and I declare Mr. Horne's assertion that I ever advised my brother to desert his bail is an infamous falshood.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

St. John's Square,

6 June, 1771.

HEATON WILKES.

To Mr. W I L K E S.

L E T T E R X.

INJURIES for benefits is the antient commerce of mankind. It is not a new branch discovered by Mr. Wilkes, though he certainly carries it on in a manner much more extensive than usual. After signing your name to a declaration that Mr. Oliver (your generous benefactor) refused to do you *justice*, I cannot wonder you should make your attorney say that the balance of private favours between him and me is on his side. I never received any *one* favour either from you or Mr. Reynolds in my life. You formerly accused me anonymously of having collected various subscriptions, and converted them to my own purposes; amongst others, you mentioned the subscription for the appeal of the widow *Bigby*. You did not do this with any hopes of fixing such an imputation upon me; you had a more malevolent design; and with the same view you now make Mr. Reynolds say (without the least relation to any thing in question, and in contradiction to your former charge of con-

cealment) that he, this man of *spotless honour*, accompanied me to several gentlemen's houses in Westminster for subscriptions for the widow *Bigby*. No doubt, Sir, there is a fine set of murderers let loose, whom I have endeavour'd to bring to justice,—*Jo*, *Mie*, and *Ario*;—and you, like the infernal magician, by pointing out their prosecutor, have tacked them to my tail, and bid them—*Stick close, boys*.

But neither this nor the other gross abuse with which you daily fill the papers, shall take from me my temper, nor divert me from my purpose. I do not desire to make myself greater or you less, I desire only to prevent mischief. I ask not the confidence of the public, nor am I in a situation to abuse it: my good or bad character (tho' it is far out of your reach) can only benefit or hurt myself; to them it is a matter perfectly indifferent. Not so with you. You are a *public* man; and it is necessary for their safety that they should be told, since nothing can restrain you, to what precipices you would lead them, and into what destruction, disgrace and ridicule you would plunge them.

It is not by *recrimination*, but by defence that you can ever be able to gain their *implicit* confidence: it is not by telling them that I am an *atheist*, but by justifying the aim and object of your political pursuits, that you must expect their support. The utmost you can obtain by your method of *recrimination* is, to have the public say, *Wilkes* and *Horne* are both rogues alike, and it is difficult to determine

is the greater. The idle, the careless and the
 ple are sure to make this decision; because it
 is the two first from the trouble of enquiry, and
 cannot form a judgment: to these are joined
 the whole ministerial and selfish tribe, whose favour-
 itism and whose real belief it has always been,
 that all men are rogues alike, and that patriots of all
 kinds are the same.

These general decisions are very convenient to co-
 rruption and palliate knavery. How absurd!
 whilst they allow a difference in degree of all
 virtues and vices; whilst they are forced to
 acknowledge that all men and women are not equally
 virtuous or lustful, sober or drunken, prudent or prodi-
 gal: they should yet contend that all are equally
 worthy! Though these men do not compose the
 bulk of mankind, they make up a very considerable
 and your method of controversy has entirely
 dispensed their assistance. Men of reflection, integrity
 and discernment are disgusted at the grossness of your
 arguments and perceive guilt to be the cause of your
 evasions: not that I believe you would be
 at their removal from you, if it were not that
 is sensible—"the *steer* accompanies the *flock*."
 The natural consequence of your behaviour is, that you
 at this moment reduced to a little faction of about
 twenty inconsiderable names; many of them ho-
 staken or uninformed simpletons, some of them
 fellows who look no farther than the laugh and
 content of the table, and some of them disap-

pointed or interested knaves. To each of these in his turn you *confidentially* declare how much you despise the rest ; and should every man to whom you have made such a declaration quit your acquaintance, you would not have one fool left whom you could flatter with the abuse of another ; and if your present adherents will only compare notes together, they will easily learn your opinion of them all.

But to proceed—Having now established Mr. *Hedston Wilkes* the declared, *advertising* candidate for the chamberlainship of the city of London ; and secured to him your *public-spirited* vote, tho' you disapprove his attempt ; I will in my next begin to shew your conduct to the public society at the London Tavern.

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. HORNE.

SIR,

I HAVE with difficulty waded through the dung-hill of abuse in your *tenth* letter. It contains no *new* charge against me, but much invective and scurrility against my friends, as *honest, mistaken, or uninformed simpletons, or jovial fellows, who look no farther than the laugh and merriment of the table, or disappointed or interested knaves*. I dare say no gentleman desires that any reply should be made to such attacks from such a quarter. The rancour of your heart is well known ; and in addition to it, experience confirms that *the corruption of a rotten divine is the generation of a few*

critic. As to myself, the war I have waged with you has been a war of *defence*. The tediousness of it is not my fault. I fear the public are at length heartily tired of us both, of your falsehoods and of my confutations. It is really time to retire, for with the grace of novelty almost every other recommendation to public favour is now lost in the present dispute.

Another kind of business begins to demand my attention ; business of a more important and interesting nature. I therefore give you notice to finish your charges against me by the Wednesday preceding Midsummer. Should your letters swell to *number forty five*, no answer to any, which may be published after that day, shall be given by me to the Rev. Mr. Horne.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R XI.

WHILST you were candidate for the city of London, a subscription was opened on the 19th of March 1768, at Lee and Ayton's, the bankers, for the payment of your debts : the trustees for which were Mess. John Mills, Samuel Vaughan, Richard Oliver, Lewis Mendez, George Hayley. These and a few other gentlemen subscribed very liberally, and great expect-

L

tations were formed of its probable produce ; but the public cannot be said to have contributed. This backwardness was supposed to proceed from an apprehension that the subscription would not be applied to the payment of your debts, but to support your election ; the usefulness of which was not at that time generally understood. To obviate this objection, a promise was made by the trustees that no part of this subscription should be applied to election purposes ; the public were still backward to subscribe ; and the whole amount of the subscription from March 19, 1768, to February 20, 1769, was 1116l. 7s. 7d.—Your debts were at this time supposed to amount to about 6000l. —*Two shillings and sixpence* in the pound were therefore offered to such as would accept a composition ; with a promise that if the dividend should be greater, they who accepted the *two shillings and sixpence* should receive their proportion. As fast as something was paid, something was likewise added daily to the list of your debts ; and instead of encreasing the dividend, it was discovered that *two shillings and sixpence* was more than could be paid. Your best friends, even those who were most able and generous, despaired of the possibility of extricating you. Another subscription was however opened by a few gentlemen (almost all the same) for your election expences : This latter subscription amounted to 1227l. 3s.—You were chosen for the county of Middlesex ; and soon after, in this desperate situation of your private affairs, were sentenced to two years imprisonment, and two *fin*

of *one thousand* pounds. *Privilege* gave some respite from your debts; but notwithstanding this and the generosity of individuals, (many of whom exerted themselves in presents to you much beyond their stations in life) it was found exceedingly difficult to furnish you even a daily support. Most of those who were so generous to you at that time, have since been the objects of your bitterest resentment. The best method then found for a little knot of public-spirited men (who bore the whole burden with very unequal force, drained as they were by subscriptions and expences) to procure you a necessary subsistence was, to have very frequent meetings at the King's Arms Tavern in Cornhill; where each paid a little more than his share of the reckoning, and when the overplus amounted to about *ten* pounds, it was regularly sent to you.

Never surely was a great public cause so overlaid with the wickedness and folly of an individual as the present! Every day brought fresh difficulties and disgrace on Mr. Wilkes; and yet he was the only person who all the while felt no distress, denied himself no expence, was neither sensible nor apprehensive of any disgrace. The just abhorrence of Mr. Wilkes as a private man, kept many good men at a distance from the cause of the people, which was unhappily blended with his personal persecution: The friends of that cause were therefore anxious to cover if possible, or to lessen the infamy, of which he was careless. The breach of trust committed by him towards the

Foundling-hospital began to make a noise ; being found upon enquiry to be too true, it demanded their earliest attention. Two gentlemen immediately advanced *three hundred pounds* to the hospital, and engaged themselves to pay the remainder. The whole sum due from Mr. Wilkes to the Foundling-hospital amounted to 990 l. 1 s. 3 d.

Whilst matters were in this situation and every day growing worse, you were unjustly expelled from the House of Commons ; and that expulsion was the cause of the SOCIETY at the *London Tavern*.

Many gentlemen, unconnected with each other, had long been wishing for some association to be set on foot for public purposes, and it had been much talked of as a measure capable of producing great benefit to the public : The present seemed a proper moment for it, and it was proposed by Mr. Townsend instantly to begin.

When first I knew that gentleman, he was determined (though warm in the public cause) never to have any connection or intercourse with Mr. Wilkes, whose character he knew too well not to detest. But when the House of Commons rejected the material part of your petition, and were determined unjustly to expel you, in order by stripping you of privilege to leave you a perpetual prisoner in the King's Bench for *debt* (since Lord Mansfield had not dared, as he endeavoured, to imprison you for life, by means of the outlawry), Mr. Townsend then consented that I should introduce him to you ; and he spoke to you

for the first time in the committee-room of the house of Commons, when they voted your petition to be *false, groundless, &c.* And Mr. Townsend did this to let the ministry understand that they would gain nothing by injustice; but would so far attach to the cause even those who most heartily despised the man, as to rescue you even from the legal consequences of an illegal persecution.

You were expelled on the 3d of *February* 1769, and rechosen on the 16th of the same month: Your election was declared void on the 17th, and yourself voted incapable of being elected into the present parliament.

The ministry had now every reason to believe, that by keeping you out of the House, they should for ever confine you in a jail: They knew that a subscription had been opened for you on the 19th of March 1768, when your debts were said to amount only to 6000*l.*; and they could not be ignorant that this subscription produced only 1116*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* The amount of your debts was now increased, and said to be about 14,000*l.* Add to this, that there were two fines of 1000*l.* to be paid; and besides the expences of *repeated* elections, support was to be provided for you two years in prison. To extricate you from such difficulties seemed impossible, not only to ministry, but even to those who were most able and willing to contribute. In this situation the establishment of a SOCIETY was proposed: The plan was formed and executed in great haste; Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. Townsend laboured at one end of the town,

whilst some persons were employed at the other, to give a general notice of the design, and to collect as many respectable persons as possible, whose sentiments and wishes were known to be public. On the 20th of February 1769, only *three days* after the vote of incapacitation, the first meeting of the Society was held at the London Tavern: A subscription was immediately made by the gentlemen present, which amounted to 3023 l.—A *second* meeting was held *five days* afterwards, on the 25th of the same month, when they assumed the name of *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*. A very worthy member of the House of Commons proposed that name as most expressive of the *public* intentions of the Society, which disdained the notion of being merely a club for Mr. *Wilkes*, of whom the greater part had a very bad opinion. Still farther to avoid any such imputation, it was at this *second* meeting resolved that Mr. *Wilkes's* health should never be given in that Society as a public toast; and this resolution has been uniformly observed: Still farther to avoid misapprehension, the Society desired me to draw up an advertisement which should declare their purposes to the public. I instantly drew up the following, which was approved and published in all the papers.

“ London Tavern, Feb. 25, 1769.

“ *MANY* gentlemen, members of parliament and others, *divested of every personal consideration, and unconnected with any party*, have formed themselves

into a Society at the London Tavern, under the title of *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*. Their *sole aim* is to maintain and defend the *legal, constitutional liberty* of the subject. They mean to support Mr. Wilkes and his cause, *as far as it is a public cause*. For this purpose they solicit the countenance and encouragement of the public, *whose advantage and emolument alone are intended.*"

At the *third* meeting of the Society, March 7, (only *three weeks* after the *first*) *three hundred pounds* were given to Mr. Wilkes, and a committee was appointed with the treasurers to *enquire into the several demands* upon Mr. Wilkes.

At the *ninth* meeting of the Society, June 6, (only *fifteen weeks* from it's first establishment) it appeared that 4553 l. had been expended in the composition of debts, &c. for Mr. Wilkes; and a farther sum of 2500 l. was ordered to be issued by the treasurers for the farther discharge of Mr. Wilkes's debts during the summer. After which, and a vote of 300 l. more to Mr. Wilkes, the Society adjourned to the 10th of October following.

Any man who reads this account will naturally suppose that Mr. Wilkes must have felt and expressed the warmest gratitude to a Society like this, which in so short a time had performed such wonders in his favour. Whoever shall suppose so, will be much mistaken: He abhorred the Society and it's members. The
DECLARATIONS of the most respectable part, *dis-*

claiming a personal attachment to Mr. Wilkes, and professing only a regard to the public, disgusted him extremely; the RESOLUTION that his health should never be given as a *public toast* in that Society, and the ADVERTISEMENT of supporting him and *his cause only as far as it was a public cause*, were never forgiven. Besides, he entertained a false notion that had not this Society been instituted, he should himself have received all the *ready money* subscribed by the Society into his own hands; what they applied to the discharge of his debts, he considered as a kind of robbery; and hated them for their care of him, as profligate young heirs do the guardians who endeavour to save them from destruction. Add to this an apprehension lest the Society should gain the public confidence; and, not being his creatures, should hereafter be strong enough to oppose effectually the extravagant foolish notions he had formed of his own greatness; merely to be *protected* does not answer his expectations; improbable as it may appear, he *dreams* of nothing less than of being himself PROTECTOR. He therefore from it's very institution determined the destruction of the Society; because he knew they meant only *the king and the laws*,—but *the king according to the laws*. My industry and zeal for a Society capable of so much future good, as well as the sincerity with which I always spoke disagreeable truths to Mr. Wilkes, entitled me to a considerable share of his resentment. I had not only drawn up the *offensive advertisement*, but at all times warmly

combated those few of his inconsiderate partizans who were constantly endeavouring to narrow the Society, and convert us only to a sponge which should suck up the generosity of the public to be squeezed into his pocket. The lack-laughter *sang froid* of the parson was the constant topic of his ridicule, and he complained that whenever I appeared I cast a gloom over the mirth of his company. His disposition towards the Society was not altered for the better by the frequent remonstrances I made to him, at the repeated request of many of his most generous subscribers, who were much dissatisfied at his laced liveries and his *French* servants in his situation; whom no motives of policy, or honesty, or shame have hitherto made him discard.

To cover the real causes of his dissatisfaction, Mr. Wilkes pretended to take it much amiss that the Society should mention his DEBTS in their advertisement; as if there was any secret in the matter; and he seized the first opportunity to complain of it as an *indignity* offered to him; forgetting that he had himself long before published a very abject advertisement, pretending to return thanks to his generous benefactor for the kind donation of an hundred pounds; but really to excite the compassion of the charitable.

The Society continued to make great progress in the affairs of Mr. Wilkes; though, it must be confessed, with very little assistance from the public at large out of the Society. They had paid all his election expences, and one of his fines of 500*l.* they had com-

whilst some persons were employed at the other, to give a general notice of the design, and to collect as many respectable persons as possible, whose sentiments and wishes were known to be public. On the 20th of February 1769, only *three days* after the vote of incapacitation, the first meeting of the Society was held at the London Tavern: A subscription was immediately made by the gentlemen present, which amounted to 3023 l.—A *second* meeting was held *five days* afterwards, on the 25th of the same month, when they assumed the name of *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*. A very worthy member of the House of Commons proposed that name as most expressive of the *public* intentions of the Society, which disdained the notion of being merely a club for Mr. *Wilkes*, of whom the greater part had a very bad opinion. Still farther to avoid any such imputation, it was at this *second* meeting resolved that Mr. *Wilkes's* health should never be given in that Society as a public toast; and this resolution has been uniformly observed: Still farther to avoid misapprehension, the Society desired me to draw up an advertisement which should declare their purposes to the public. I instantly drew up the following, which was approved and published in all the papers.

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DECLARATIONS of the most respectable part, *dis-*

again " Resolved, that the committee of accounts be
 " requested to take the state of Mr. Wilkes's affairs
 " into *farther* consideration, and report to the Socie-
 " ty at the next meeting, an account as well of *what*
 " *part of his debts now remain unsatisfied*, as of the
 " best mode and means for settling them ; as also an
 " account of what sums have been already disbursed by
 " this Society, with the vouchers for the same. That
 " the said committee meet on Saturday next, at ele-
 " ven o'clock in the forenoon. That the treasurers of
 " this society, the secretary, and Mr. Reynolds (as
 " agent to Mr. Wilkes) be requested to attend at the
 " said committee with the necessary papers." The
 active and prying members of this committee met
 with mortifications enough : but they persevered with
 great diligence ; they admitted every claim of every
 kind from every quarter, that could with the greatest
 industry be discovered from March 19, 1768, to April
 17, 1770: and of these they formed one general list,
 which was produced by the committee on the 17th of
 April : and to prevent, as was then imagined, the
possibility of any future tricks and impositions, this
 general list of all the remaining *claims* on Mr. Wilkes
 was by order of the Society entered in the book of
 SUBSCRIPTIONS, that it might lay constantly on the
 table, open to every member.

This list of *remaining* debts amounted to 6821l. 13s.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Society,
 on the 6th of February, 1770, received a letter from
 the Commons house of assembly of *South-Carolina*,

combated those few of his inconsiderate partizans who were constantly endeavouring to narrow the Society, and convert us only to a sponge which should suck up the generosity of the public to be squeezed into his pocket. The lack-laughter *sang froid* of the parson was the constant topic of his ridicule, and he complained that whenever I appeared I cast a gloom over the mirth of his company. His disposition towards the Society was not altered for the better by the frequent remonstrances I made to him, at the repeated request of many of his most generous subscribers, who were much dissatisfied at his laced liveries and his *French* servants in his situation; whom no motives of policy, or honesty, or shame have hitherto made him discard.

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The Society continued to make great progress in the affairs of Mr. Wilkes; though, it must be confessed, with very little assistance from the public at large out of the Society. They had paid all his election expences, and one of his fines of 500*l.* they had com-

pounded a very considerable portion of his debts; when on the 24th of October they voted him 300l. more, making in the whole 1000l. for his pocket.

A few weeks after this vote Mr. Wilkes obtained a verdict against lord Halifax, with 4000l. damages: I waited on Mr. Wilkes and endeavoured to persuade him that he was bound in honour, in honesty and policy to send these 4000l. to the London Tavern in aid towards the payment of his debts: I represented to him the poverty of our bank, which had indeed advanced too far, and was in debt; I endeavoured to make him sensible that 4000l. at that time would go farther in compounding his debts than 10,000l. would sometime afterwards: I shewed him the reputation he would gain by this act of common honesty and policy, and that he would encourage the public to subscribe towards him, and bind the gentlemen of the Society in honour never to quit him till they had at least returned him his 4000l. though it was employed in the discharge of his own debts. I laboured in vain; *ready cash* made Mr. Wilkes deaf to my arguments. He would not send a penny to the Society for the discharge of *his own* debts, though it was not many weeks since the Society had in one year voted him the last part of a *thousand* pound for his support.

The Society however went on chearfully with the discharge of his debts; and having beyond all expectation made so considerable a progress in so short a time, and having now reduced his debts within some compass, some probable prospect of finally discharging

them, we began to look back with pleasure on what had been done, and to consider what still remained to do. Many things had happened in the manner of compounding the debts, which were not very satisfactory to those who examined them: demands were daily brought in for debts compounded, which had never been examined or heard of before payment; and some debts delivered in, for instance, as 90 l. had been compounded as 160 l. And though these and many other things might arise from mistake and error (which however we did not believe) they were not pleasing; and it was thought that such accidents ought to be prevented. On the 23d of January, 1770, the Society determined, that they would "at their next meeting take into consideration the state of Mr. Wilkes's affairs." At the *next* meeting, Feb. 6, a committee of accounts was appointed for that purpose, which "the treasurers and Mr. Reynolds (as agent for Mr. Wilkes) were requested to attend, with such papers and accounts relative to the said affairs as were in their possession." This committee found great difficulties to encounter; and it appeared evidently that there was an intention somewhere to prevent our ever obtaining exact lists of debts, or coming to a certainty of what we had still to do for Mr. Wilkes's final discharge. These *studied* difficulties encreased our suspicions, and shewed us the necessity of being more resolute and diligent to fix and determine the demands on Mr. Wilkes. Accordingly at the *next* meeting, Feb. 20, it was

claiming a personal attachment to Mr. Wilkes, and professing only a regard to the public, disgusted him extremely; the RESOLUTION that his health should never be given as a *public toast* in that Society, and the ADVERTISEMENT of supporting him and *his cause only as far as it was a public cause*, were never forgiven. Besides, he entertained a false notion that had not this Society been instituted, he should himself have received all the *ready money* subscribed by the Society into his own hands; what they applied to the discharge of his debts, he considered as a kind of robbery; and hated them for their care of him, as profligate young heirs do the guardians who endeavour to save them from destruction. Add to this an apprehension lest the Society should gain the public confidence; and, not being his creatures, should hereafter be strong enough to oppose effectually the extravagant foolish notions he had formed of his own greatness; merely to be *protected* does not answer his expectations; improbable as it may appear, he *dreams* of nothing less than of being himself PROTECTOR. He therefore from it's very institution determined the destruction of the Society; because he knew they meant only *the king* and *the laws*,—but *the king according to the laws*. My industry and zeal for a Society capable of so much future good, as well as the sincerity with which I always spoke disagreeable truths to Mr. Wilkes, entitled me to a considerable share of his resentment. I had not only drawn up the *offensive advertisement*, but at all times warmly

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you particularly applauded at that time, will give the world my opinion of the American contest.

(COPY)

King's Bench Prison,

July 19, 1768.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am extremely honoured by your letter, and the valuable present which accompanied it. Nothing could give me more satisfaction than to find the true spirit of liberty so generally diffused thro’ the most remote parts of the British monarchy. I thank you very heartily for the generous and rational entertainment of the *Farmer's Letters*, in which the cause of freedom is perfectly understood, and ably defended.

“ As a member of the legislature, I shall always give a particular attention to whatever respects the *interests of America, which I believe to be immediately connected with, and of essential moment to our parent-country, and the common welfare of this great political system.* After the first claims of duty to England, and of gratitude to the county of Middlesex, none shall engage me more than the affairs of our colonies, which I consider as the *propugnacula imperii*, and I know how much of our strength and weight we owe to, and derive from them.

“ I will ever, Gentlemen, AVOW MYSELF A FRIEND TO UNIVERSAL LIBERTY. I hope freedom will ever flourish under *your hemisphere as well as ours*, and I doubt not from your spirit and firmness,

M 2

pounded a very considerable portion of his debts; when on the 24th of October they voted him 300 l. more, making in the whole 1000 l. for his pocket.

A few weeks after this vote Mr. Wilkes obtained a verdict against lord Halifax, with 4000 l. damages: I waited on Mr. Wilkes and endeavoured to persuade him that he was bound in honour, in honesty and policy to send these 4000 l. to the London Tavern in aid towards the payment of his debts: I represented to him the poverty of our bank, which had indeed advanced too far, and was in debt; I endeavoured to make him sensible that 4000 l. at that time would go farther in compounding his debts than 10,000 l. would sometime afterwards: I shewed him the reputation he would gain by this act of common honesty and policy, and that he would encourage the public to subscribe towards him, and bind the gentlemen of the Society in honour never to quit him till they had at least returned him his 4000 l. though it was employed in the discharge of his own debts. I laboured in vain; *ready cash* made Mr. Wilkes deaf to my arguments. He would not send a penny to the Society for the discharge of *his own* debts, though it was not many weeks since the Society had in one year voted him the last part of a *thousand* pound for his support.

The Society however went on chearfully with the discharge of his debts; and having beyond all expectation made so considerable a progress in so short a time, and having now reduced his debts within some compass, some probable prospect of finally discharging

I hope to shew myself not quite unworthy of an honour, which I feel as I ought.

“ I am, with great regard,

“ Gentlemen, your obliged,

“ and faithful, humble Servant,

“ J O H N W I L K E S.”

“ To the Gentlemen of the Committee of the

“ Sons of Liberty in the Town of Boston.”

(COPY)

King's Bench Prison,

“ Gentlemen,

March 30, 1769.

“ I should sooner have acknowledged the very great honour of the letter Captain Bruce delivered to me, but from a real tenderness for you, and the other friends of liberty in *America*, still more than from my own important concerns. I did hope that the spirit of persecution, which had gone forth against you, would have abated, and that I should have had it in my power to congratulate you on the *recovery of your rights*. If I had been permitted to take my seat in the house of Commons, I should have been eager to move the *repeal of the late act*, which lays the new duties on paper, paint, and other articles. I would have done this from the full persuasion not only of that act's being highly impolitic and inexpedient, but, in my idea, likewise absolutely unjust and unconstitutional, a direct violation of the great fundamental principles of British liberty. The present session has been in many instances most unfavourable to public liberty ; but I hope that the next,

and a more upright administration, will restore *all* the subjects of the British empire to the possession of their rights, and I wish to enjoy the satisfaction of contributing to so noble a work.

“ I have read with grief and indignation the proceedings of the ministry with regard to the troops ordered to Boston, as if it were the capital of a province belonging to our enemies, or in the possession of rebels. Asiatic despotism does not present a picture more odious in the eye of humanity, than the sanctuary of justice and law turned into a main-guard. I admire exceedingly your prudence and temper on so intricate an occasion, maintaining at the same time your own dignity and the true spirit of liberty. By this wise and excellent conduct you have disappointed your enemies, and convinced your friends that an entire reliance is to be had on the supporters of freedom at Boston in every occurrence, however delicate or dangerous. Your moderation prevented the effusion of blood, which we have seen by the military in St. George's Fields, on the most frivolous pretext, and in the most inhuman way.

“ I submit to you, Gentlemen, the propriety of a publication of any letters, which may pass between us. You are the true judges of what respects the *new world*. Perhaps while I am doomed to this prison, unfair advantages might be taken *here* against me, which I should find it difficult to overcome. I leave however the whole to your mature consideration, with the truest assurances, that *in whatever way I can serve*

the generous cause of liberty, I will be active and zealous. You will always oblige me by pointing out the particulars respecting yourselves.

“ I am, Gentlemen, with

“ Truth and Regard, your affectionate,

“ and faithful, humble Servant,

“ JOHN WILKES.”

“ To the Gentlemen of the Committee of the

“ Sons of Liberty in the Town of Boston.”

Are these, Sir, the letters of a man *who hates the Americans, who is the declared foe of their liberties?* The folly of this attack is unparalleled, except in your former letters.

I proceed to the business of the letter to the honourable the Commons house of assembly of *South-Carolina*, in answer to their letter and noble subscription of 1500 l. You say, “ One of the members of “ the society, (*of the Bill of Rights*) a gentleman of “ the clearest public principles and of much merit, drew “ up *very hastily* a letter of thanks on the occasion, “ which he shewed to Mr. Wilkes for his opinion. “ Mr. Wilkes commended it extravagantly, and “ earnestly pressed the committee to adopt the letter ; “ and he took some *extraordinary measures* that it “ might be adopted by the society.” *Mr. Morris*, the secretary at that time, drew up an answer, which he shewed to me, first in the rough draft, and afterwards finished. It was diffuse, but sensible and spirited. I approved it, but did not commend it

warmly to any of my friends, for it contained many compliments to me personally. On this account chiefly I know that you disliked it. You complained that Mr. *Morris* was a *mad-man*, that the letter was execrable, and would bring the Society into disgrace. I said that perhaps the letter might be thought *here* rather too diffuse and copious, but Mr. *Morris* had considered that it was proper to give the gentlemen of *South-Carolina* a full exposition of the sentiments of the Society ; that in America our brethren were more studious of expressing themselves with force and clearness than with conciseness and classical energy ; that the copious style was theirs ; that their own productions abounded more in sound reasoning than in elegance of diction ; that they often preferred to our close style a diffuse mode of writing, to avoid the possibility of any doubt of their meaning ; that in this style Mr. *Morris* excelled ; that I should even regret their rivalling Europe in the *meretricious* arts of eloquence, fine writing, and polite literature, for they would probably make such acquisitions at the expence of strength of thought and manliness of sentiment, in which they excelled the Europeans ; that we were ourselves greatly deficient ; that most of the modern refinements of Europe were the luxurious effects of a debauched, vitiated and enervated taste, which had lost sight of the ancient and true elegance and simplicity ; that very few among the Americans had in fact succeeded in either of the sister arts of poetry or painting ; that *spirit*, not *taste*, was their characters ; that I knew no fault in Mr. *Morris's* letter, except the compliments to myself ;

that language was, after all, merely the dress of our thoughts; and that it was peevish and ill-bred to find fault with Mr. Morris, only because periods of strong sense were not tuned to the nice ear of Mr. Horne. These were the sentiments I expressed to you, and many of my friends. I never was with the committee. The transaction happened during my imprisonment. At the London Tavern I am told, that you were furious and unmannerly about the secretary's letter. Mr. Morris, in a good-natured manner, withdrew his intended answer to the gentlemen of *South-Carolina*. You produced another letter, which, after many important alterations made by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and other gentlemen, was at length adopted by the Society. I desire an explanation of what you mean by *extraordinary measures*. I have given the whole of this business. Will you prevail on your new friend, Mr. Morris, to favour the public with his *intended* answer; and will you give us your own *uncastrated* letter, as it was first proposed to the Bill of Rights? The public will then be able to determine on the merits of each performance.

You advance the *stale* charge of the *breach of trust* committed towards the *Foundling Hospital*. I shall give the *stale* answer, inserted in all the public papers, when the charge was brought forwards at the time of the Middlesex election, to which no reply was ever made.

“ Mr. Wilkes is now made the most abandoned
“ of mankind, from an affair with regard to the

“ *Foundling Hospital*; and complicated frauds are
 “ talked of. The whole of the affair is, he was to
 “ pay the tradesmens bills at Aylesbury; the hospi-
 “ tal issued the money; the tradesmen did not call
 “ for it every quarter; and it was left in Mr.
 “ Wilkes’s hands. When Mr. Wilkes went abroad,
 “ all his private affairs were in the hands of a gen-
 “ tleman, who afterwards suffered himself very great
 “ misfortunes, and none of the accounts are yet set-
 “ tled, but will be very soon. [*They have long been*
 “ *fully settled.*] In what light Mr. Wilkes stood
 “ with respect to the tradesmen of Aylesbury, may
 “ be guessed from their late instructions to their
 “ members in his favour.”

Your chronological history of the Society of the
 Bill of Rights is the most soporific dose I have taken.
 You quote always partially. You give us the adver-
 tisement ordered to be published at the *second* meeting
 of the Society on Feb. 25, 1769, and, with your usual
 candour, you omit what was done at the *first* meet-
 ing. You preface the account of the advertisement on
 Feb. 25, 1769, “ To avoid misapprehension, the So-
 “ ciety desired me to draw up an advertisement which
 “ should declare their purposes to the public. *I instant-*
 “ *ly drew up* the following, which was approved, and
 “ published in all the papers.” If *you* will not re-
 collect, *I* will, what you *instantly drew up*, at a prior
 meeting, at the very *first* meeting of the Society of the
 Bill of Rights. The following is an extract from the
 books of that Society. 1769, Feb. 20, *Serjeant Glynn*

in the chair. “ *Resolved*, That the gentlemen present at this meeting will contribute, as far as lies in their power, to the independance and support of Mr. Wilkes, and that the Rev. Mr. Horne be desired to draw up a paper expressive of these intentions; who, in pursuance of this desire, *instantly drew up* the following article, which received the subscription of all the gentlemen present.” The article itself is, “Whereas *John Wilkes, Esq.* has suffered very greatly in his private fortune from the severe and repeated prosecutions he has undergone in behalf of the public, and as it seems reasonable to us, that the man who suffers for the public good should be supported by the public, we, &c.” The sense of any society could not be more clearly ascertained, than by such explicit declarations at the very first meeting. Mr. Wilkes was plainly the *primary*, though not the *sole* object.

As to the 4000 l. which I recovered against Lord Halifax, I have always been, and still am, ready to submit the application of that sum to the Society. I stated it to the *committee of accounts*, who thought it a private business, in which they did not chuse to interfere. I had not any conversation with you on this subject till some months after the verdict.

You say, “ It was at this *second* meeting *resolved*, that Mr. Wilkes’s health should never be given in that society as a public toast; and this *resolution* has been uniformly observed.” The fact is, that the Society determined that only the *three* following

public toasts should be drank; the King, Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and the glorious memory of King William. There is no *resolution* in the minutes of the Society on this subject. Mr. Wilkes's health was generally given by the chairman as his own private toast.

You say, "Merely to be *protected* does not answer his (*Mr. Wilkes's*) expectations; improbable as it may appear, he *dreams* of nothing less than of being himself PROTECTOR. He therefore *from its very institution* determined the destruction of the Society; because he knew they meant only *the king and the laws*—but the *king according to the laws.*" Mr. Wilkes was at that time so circumstanced, that he must be an *ideot* to wish the *destruction of the Society*. It was to lop the branch on which he sat, and even to lay the ax to the root of a noble tree which afforded him shelter and protection. I will state *two* plain facts. When the dissolution of the Society was moved for *by you* in April last, did not Mr. Wilkes actually vote against it? Did not you vote for the dissolution? Which of the present disputants then had *determined the destruction of the Society?*

The *dreams* you mention about a *protector* are those of your own distempered brain, which, if you have any regard for the world's opinion of your understanding, you should not repeat. They are the ravings of a Bedlamite. You were at my elbow on the 20th of April 1768, when I declared before the court of King's Bench, "I have been much misrepre-

“fented ; but under every species of perfecution, I
 “will remain *firm and friendly to the monarchy*, dutiful
 “and affectionate to the illustrious prince who wears
 “the crown, and to the whole *Brunswic* line.”

I acknowledge a *king* in England, *only according to the laws*. They bound his prerogative and my allegiance. I dare now to set my name *here* to what the great Algernon Sydney wrote in *Rome*, “My
 “thoughts as to *king* and state depending upon their
 “actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to
 “*Him* than I, if *He* make the good and prosperity
 “of *His* people *His* glory ; *none more His enemy if He*
 “*doth the contrary*.”

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

To Mr. JOHN WILKES.

L E T T E R XII.

ON the 17th of April, 1770, Mr. Wilkes was released from the King's Bench prison ; and at the next meeting of the society, April 24, he was proposed to be balloted for as a member ; and at the following meeting, May 8, was *unanimously* chosen.

In my last I shewed what was the situation of the society's accounts at this time, and stated both what had been done, and what remained to do ; viz.

	£.
Debts of Mr. Wilkes discharged above	12,000
To Mr. Wilkes for his support	1,000
To his election expences	2,973
To his two fines	1,000
And by all the lifts of claims on Mr. Wilkes he remained indebted 6,821 l. 13 s.	

It is proper I should now mention what was Mr. Wilkes's *visible* situation. He had an estate of 700l. a-year, out of which 200l. a-year was payable to Mrs. Wilkes, and an annuity of 150l. was due to Mr. Reynolds, he having purchased the same for 1,000 l. so that there remained to Mr. Wilkes a nominal 350l. a-year. Besides this income, Mr. Wilkes had 2,000l. in ready money; the other 2,000l. of the sum recovered from Lord Halifax, were said to be paid to Mr. Reynolds, i. e. 1,200l. for Mr. Reynolds's law-charges, &c. and 800l. to discharge some debts contracted by another breach of trust towards the Buckinghamshire militia, when Mr. Wilkes was their colonel. On this foundation, that is, with a nominal 350l. a-year, and 2,000l. ready money, but with a drawback of 6,821l. *declared* debts, Mr. Wilkes (whilst he was still in the King's Bench, with many detainers lodged against him, and before he could tell whether the society, notwithstanding all their zeal, would be able to compass his enlargement) entered into treaty with Sir Edward Ashley for his dwelling-house in Great George-Street.

The terms were easily agreed to, and nothing stood in the way but SECURITY ; Sir Edward desired SECURITY. Mr. Wilkes, who “ had as lief he had put “ ratbane in his mouth,” and who knew that though I could not laugh at his jest, I could sometimes do his business, was desirous to turn over to me the employment of procuring security, such gloomy matters being, as he had experienced, perfectly suited to my disposition. I was too dull to taste the pleasantry of such an arrangement. Mr. Reynolds had bought in the annuity of 150 l. merely to give Mr. Wilkes an opportunity to repurchase it ; and I thought *one* of his thousands, if he would not *lend* them for the discharge of his debts, would be more usefully employed that way than in furniture ; I represented to him that having a thousand pounds, and not repurchasing the annuity, he did in fact at that moment sell 150 l. a-year for a thousand pound ready money. I bestowed the freest terms on the dishonesty, ingratitude and folly of thus laying a plan to replunge himself in debt after all the hard struggles which had been made to rescue him. I refused sharply to be instrumental in a measure which must necessarily have one of these two consequences ; either that Mr. Wilkes must soon return to prison a beggar, and so defeat in some measure all that had been done for him ; or that all the money which the public spirit of individuals could supply must, to the exclusion of all public purposes, be confined to the support of his private extravagance. The former of these consequences would

be very *detrimental* to the public cause, the latter would be *fatal*. I was not singular in my opinion on this subject; all the gentlemen to whom Mr. Wilkes applied, even, the future *Chamberlain* and *Town-Clerk*, refused to be security. Though Mr. Wilkes was disappointed of a large house, he was determined not to lose the opportunity of a large expence. On quitting the King's Bench prison he took a house on a lease at *fifty pounds* a-year, that he might lay out some *hundreds* on its repairs: At the same time he took a country-house at *sixty guineas* for the season, and to compleat his plan of œconomy, he sent his daughter to Paris to see the *Dauphin's wedding*, whilst himself was all the summer making the tour of the *watering-places*. That his generous **SUPPORTERS** might not be too much ridiculed, he kept no more than *fix domestics*; and that his police and gratitude to his country might keep pace with his œconomy, only *three* of them were *French*.

Such were the situations of Mr. Wilkes and of the Society when he was released from prison.

Those who had hitherto laboured so indefatigably did not remit their diligence: In order to keep the promises of the society and do good to the public, it was necessary that they should at length come to some conclusion of Mr. Wilkes's private affairs. They could easily see that if they did not make haste Mr. Wilkes would incur fresh debts faster than they could discharge the old: It was proper that he should know what he had to expect from the Society; and they

could not begin to procure for him a *reasonable* annuity till they had first cleared his incumbrances. It was the wish of all those with whom I ever conversed to set him free, and afterwards to procure for him a clear annuity of six hundred pounds: Having done so, to cease subscriptions for the farther support of Mr. Wilkes, unless some new *public* reason should make it justifiable, and to apply the whole collected strength of the public to the most important public measures that should need pecuniary assistance. Whatever difficulties the *future* private extravagance of Mr. Wilkes might bring upon him, the society did not consider as any object of their concern. The public spirit of the nation would be justified by what they had done for him; and sufficient encouragement would thereby be given to all other private men to do their duty, and a sufficient lesson to kings and ministers to abstain from violence and injustice. These purposes I did not doubt to see fulfilled before the month of March 1771. And I was foolish enough to suppose that Mr. Wilkes would not dare to appear discontented, if (after *three* whole years of such successful labour applied to his private affairs, himself freed from his debts, and with clear 600 l. a year, the society still supporting the expence of all public measures) we employed our strength at last on other important objects of public advantage. With these aims and a corresponding conduct, without ever having received the *slightest* favour from any party or great man in *administration* or *opposition*, I could not foresee that

by all my labour, hazard and expence I should gain the contradictory imputation of being at the same time the hireling of the *one*, and the tool of the *other* : And that Mr. Wilkes, *the only private gainer in the struggle*, should of all men in the world be the person to bring the charge against me. Mr. Wilkes, in perfect idleness and security *four times* elected member for Middlesex, and *twice* Alderman of London, a gainer of *thirty thousand* pounds, is the person to impute to me an interested design ! to me who have frequently risked the whole and actually spent a great part of my little fortune in the contest, often exposed to a prison, and sometimes to death ! an interested design ! *Sumo superbiam*. I know there is not one even of his *pbalanx* that believes it. His *honourable* attorney, Mr. Reynolds, who exposes the secrets of his clients, and boasts the being employed in his profession as a favour done by him to his employer, has I find by his treachery given to many of your friends one ample proof of my gain in the struggle.—But I ask pardon for speaking of myself.

The society having with great diligence searched after and admitted every claim brought against Mr. Wilkes, pushed on their subscriptions as vigorously as they could ; and on the 12th of June, 1770, appointed a committee to examine these claims, and to take measures to satisfy them. In all societies of this kind many can better afford and are more willing to give their money than their time and trouble. The burthen lay heavy on a few, and their difficulties

were encreased by every obstacle that the art of Mr. Wilkes and his attorney could invent. A settlement would not answer either of their purposes. However we persevered, and examining more carefully than we had formerly done, we discovered that amongst the claims brought in by Mr. Heaton Wilkes, there was *one* claim of 262l. 10s. on account of *Sylva*, which had been already compounded ; and *three other* claims of 350l. - 40l. 10s. 1d. - and 40l. in the surnames of — *Granger*, — *Owen*, and — *Smith* ; to which names no *persons* could be found to answer, nor could either Mr. Heaton Wilkes, whose list contained those claims, or Mr. John Wilkes, against whom the claims were brought, give us any account of the occasion or nature of these debts. The society therefore with great justice struck out these 693 l. 1d. from the list of debts due by Mr. Wilkes. The remaining list was classed and distributed amongst six or seven gentlemen, who undertook to look after the claimants, and compound their several demands. The execution of this was the business of the summer. Whilst these things were transacting, and Mr. Wilkes was on his tour to the *watering places*, application was made by his brother to the treasurers for money for Mr. Wilkes. The treasurers, considering that Mr. Wilkes had pocketed 2000l. so lately, might well be surprized at this application, and very properly refused to advance any ; in truth there was none to advance, for it had all been applied to the discharge of his debts : But their surprize was greater when they were informed that

Mr. Wilkes CLAIMED *one hundred pounds* as due to him, because a subscription of that sum had been sent to the society from *Newcastle*, with an *express* declaration that it was meant to be applied *solely* to the purposes of Mr. Wilkes ; and by this declaration Mr. Wilkes insisted it was meant that he should receive it for his *pocket*. The treasurers had applied it to the payment of his debts ; and thought that was *expressly* complying with the declaration of the subscribers ; to pay his debts with it was surely applying the subscription *solely* to the purposes of Mr. Wilkes : Had it been intended for his pocket, there was no occasion to have sent it to the *Society*, the shortest way would have been to send it to Mr. Wilkes at once. Mr. Wilkes it seems did not think paying his debts was applying it to his purposes. The treasurers however did not admit his claim.

By the diligence used during the summer all the debts of Mr. Wilkes comprehended in the list 6821 l. were compounded ; except about 200 l. due at *Aylesbury*, and 743 l. 18 s. 5 d. some few of the claimants for which latter sum still refused to accept any composition ; some lived scattered in the country, and some could not any where be found. Mr. Reynolds had long promised to compound the debts at *Aylesbury*, but still nothing was done ; sometimes it was suggested that Mr. Wilkes had paid them. I repeatedly applied to Mr. Wilkes for information, but could obtain only shuffling answers. The treasurers wrote to Mr. Wilkes on the subject, but received no satisfaction. Finding an obstinate determination that we should not

finish his affairs, and being as determined ourselves not to join with Mr. Wilkes in duping the public, three of us declared that we would ourselves go to *Aylesbury* and compound the debts there; and we fixed a day for our journey. Mr. Reynolds took every possible measure to prevent it, he promised he would be there before us, but he did not go. We went and compounded them all in one evening; it being the *first* application that had been made at *Aylesbury* for that purpose.

AFTER the summer recess, the SOCIETY was to meet again Nov. 27, 1770.

On Monday Oct. 22, 1770, I received a note from Mr. Wilkes to inform me that he would call the next day to talk with me on some business of consequence. I was that moment going into the country for a week, the post-chaise was at the door, and my company waiting: I desired a gentleman who was in my room to answer the note, and to tell him I would visit him as soon as I returned. According to my promise, on Sunday October 28, I went to Mr. Wilkes at Fulham. Our conversation turned chiefly on three things: — His brother's pretensions to the *chamberlainship*; his expectations from the *London Tavern*; and his intended proceedings at *Westminster* on the *Wednesday* following. It was my misfortune to be of a different opinion from Mr. Wilkes on all three: indeed we seldom did concur in any measure, except in those which tended to his private advantage; as far as I thought it just and honourable to pursue his private

interest, I met with his hearty concurrence, for he found my endeavours effectual and he reaped the instant benefit. In all *public* measures our opinions have been uniformly as different as our aims. However when I look back on what is past, I find the voice of the people (which Mr. Wilkes calls the *voice of God*) in my favour: and if the public are not to be condemned, Mr. Wilkes cannot have been very right, nor I very wrong: for however *new* and *extraordinary* it may seem to those who are unacquainted with the particulars of what has passed, it is nevertheless most certain that Mr. Wilkes has strenuously *opposed* almost every measure which the public has adopted. But as I mean hereafter to explain the whole of his conduct in those matters, I shall confine myself at present to what relates to the Society at the *London Tavern*. Mr. Wilkes desired *ready money*. I thought it a shameful request: I repeated to him the situation of the Society, which was in arrears; and shewed him that in order to discharge his remaining debts, we must borrow from some of the members on the credit of the Society. His debts being once discharged, I told him I would venture to answer for it that he would have a clear annuity of 600 l. that if it amounted to 1000 l. I should be better pleased, but would not press the thing beyond 600 l. that this annuity, with what he had and what his relations could do for him, ought to content him; but whether he was contented or not, that I should trouble myself on that score no farther. That we had already dwelt too long and exhausted ourselves

too much on his private affairs, and should deservedly meet with the scorn and derision of the public, if we did not proceed to matters of greater public importance. Mr. Wilkes still pressed for *ready money*, and said it would be doing him more kindness to give him the money, and trust for the remainder of his debts to the *chapter of accidents*. He urged to me his old argument, which he has often repeated to many people, that—"Those who do pay make amends for those who do not; and that tradesmen always charge accordingly." I replied that the same pretence would equally justify him for robbing them on the highway, or burning their houses down; because no doubt their gain in trade, if they are not undone, must supply all their losses. As I continued obstinate, Mr. Wilkes grew angry: he said, if he was to be treated so, it was plain the Society had only made a *decoy-duck* of his name, and that he was used only as an *instrument*. I grew warm in my turn, I reproached him for his unreasonableness, selfishness and ingratitude; I asked him what merit he pretended to with the public, and what claim he had to their support, but as an *instrument* of public good; and I assured him I would take care he should not be able to cast that reproach on the Society, for that as soon as we had compleated the provision for him I had mentioned, I would make a motion to give him all the money that should remain over in the banker's hand; and to advertise that for the future no more subscriptions would be received by the Society, unless

some great public occasion should arise, which exceeded the abilities of that Society alone to support.

What passed between us concerning the *chamberlainship* and the *Westminster instructions* did not tend to restore his good humour towards me. He found it in vain to use any further endeavours to bend me to his purposes; and from that day forwards has employed every means, by *paragraphs* and otherwise, to destroy the effect of any opposition I might make to his scandalous attempts.

On the 27th of November the Society met; and a *Committee of Accounts* was appointed for the 7th of December following. At the next meeting of the Society, December 11, a report was made from the committee, "That there appeared to be 743 l. 18s. 5 d. still undischarged of the list of Mr. Wilkes's debts admitted by the Society on the 17th of April 1770."

Upon this report much altercation arose, and Mr. Heaton Wilkes's behaviour was so very indecent, (though the last man but one in that Society who should have insulted his brother's generous supporters) that Mr. Sawbridge declared he would instantly move for Mr. Heaton Wilkes's expulsion, if he did not make an apology. An apology was made, but the altercation continued. Many gentlemen, who had never before taken any part in the business of the Society, (and some who were not members) were poured into the room after dinner, merely to give a predetermined vote in order to prevent any final settlement of Mr. Wilkes's affairs. Some insisted that a new

list of debts should be made ; others would not have any determined list, but that the accounts should remain open ; others disputed about the original institution of the Society, and maintained that the single intention was the support of Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Wilkes only. The disorder and confusion was as complete as Mr. Wilkes himself could wish. I had been too much engaged in a variety of different business with the gentlemen not to know pretty well the motives and intentions of most of them, and from thence could easily *guess* their sentiments and votes before they gave them. I saw it was an *unnatural* meeting, and it was not difficult to know who brought down the *new-comers*, and for what purposes they attended, though many of them did not themselves know, only that they were to vote for Mr. Wilkes. The majority present were plainly displeased at this monstrous treatment ; however, I wished, if possible, to satisfy every honest man. I related to them, very frankly, what had passed between Mr. Wilkes and me on the subject of the Society, and explained to them his intentions, which had been from the beginning either to destroy us, or confine us to himself. It is impossible, where numbers are to concur, for any individual to do always what is best ; he must do the best he can : I therefore moved (as a thing most likely to satisfy Mr. Wilkes for the moment) that *four hundred or six hundred* pounds should be paid into the hands of Mr. Wilkes, for him to discharge the remaining 743 L. 18s. 5 d. of his debts. To this it was ob-

jected, even by one of his partizans, that Mr. Wilkes would not ride a hundred miles to find out a creditor. It was therefore carried by a majority, " That ten " shillings in the pound be paid into the hands of " Richard Oliver, Esq. for the compounding of the " sum of 743 l. 18 s. 5 d. being the amount of the " following debts of John Wilkes, Esq. reported " from the committee as not hitherto compromised ; " viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Williamson and Co. —	13	9	6
Benj. Sutherland —	17	6	0
Thomas Chamberlain —	142	8	1
Nathan Cooper —	7	16	0
Davis and Wilkins —	1	11	0
George Falconer —	1	19	0
John Sherwood —	1	4	0
William Pickner —	18	10	1
— Hemings —	14	12	4
— Barrett —	4	1	0
— Boydell —	0	7	6
John Hilman —	0	17	6
John Kirk —	6	0	0
— Nelle —	2	3	6
John Palmer —	1	16	0
Daniel Sanxay —	0	14	0
John Upton —	2	18	4
Peter Vamenean —	1	4	0
Carried over, —	£. 238	17	10

		£.	s.	d.
Brought over,	—	238	17	10
John Wood	—	1	19	3
John Courtay	—	1	0	0
Thomas Hickman	—	2	13	0
Martha Jones	—	7	18	9
James Loton	—	0	17	2
— Stationer	—	1	8	2
Mary Ayres	—	2	8	4
William Chapman	—	3	17	5
Jane Jolliffe	—	1	4	6
Richard Shipman	—	2	6	0
Charles Warraker	—	7	0	0
William Woodward	—	2	13	10
Catharine Alway	—	6	6	9
Samuel Giles	—	1	16	2
John Measey	—	2	8	4
Thomas Davis	—	100	0	0
John Ellicutt	—	19	6	0
— Graves	—	31	10	0
Haines and Benson	—	21	4	8
Elizabeth Tunecliffe	—	16	4	0
William Almack	—	6	6	0
— Maginel	—	242	16	3
Thomas Borwick	—	21	16	0
		£. 743	18	5

JOHN HORNE.

To the Rev. Mr. H O R N E.

S I R,

Prince's Court, Thursday, June 20.

I NOW proceed to examine your *twelfth* letter, and, according to the notice I gave you, to close a correspondence which the public have long ago called upon me to conclude. I shall therefore necessarily in taking leave of you consider a few other particulars which from hurry or inadvertency I have omitted.

The account you have published of the Society, called the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*, and their proceedings, is equally prolix and fallacious. In the state of the pecuniary transactions of the Society you, give so perplexed a detail of my affairs, that I am totally at a loss to comprehend your accounts. You pretended in a former letter that at the institution of that Society I was scarcely thought of, and you endeavoured to prove that paradox by a single advertisement after the *second* meeting, omitting all the resolutions of the *first* at the very formation of the Society, which I have already quoted. Will you, Sir, allow the Society themselves to determine what their own intentions were? Feb. 26, 1771, it was resolved, " That " the *first* object of this Society, in order to promote " the public purposes of it's intentions, was to support *John Wilkes, Esq.* against ministerial oppression, by discharging his debts and rendering him " independent." In your account of Mr. Wilkes's debts you studiously omit a remarkable part of an ad-

vertisement repeatedly published by the *Society of the Bill of Rights* in all the papers. " N. B. 7149l. 6s. " of Mr. Wilkes's debts appear to have been incurred " by his having been security for other persons." Did you fear that this might be brought to confute your charge of his indifference for the interest of his friends, when it appears that he subjected himself to the payment of so large a sum on their account? You will please to recollect that by an early resolution of the Society, on May 9, 1769, printed in the papers, " All *committees* of the Society are to meet on every " first and third Tuesday in the month at the London " Tavern, at one in the afternoon," and that the *committee of accounts*, by the advertisement of Nov. 20, 1770, " Was always open to all members of the Society." If therefore you suspected the least fraud from any quarter, it was your duty to have attended to detect it. Although you have *deserted* the Society, it is still incumbent on you to acquaint them of any fraud or collusion you have discovered. I call upon you to write a letter, stating the particulars, to the chairman of the next meeting, and to give your proofs of the smallest intended imposition of any kind, or you will pass for an infamous calumniator of your *benefactor*, Mr. Reynolds, and other men of honour, whom you have wickedly traduced. When you mention that " The other 2,000l. of the sum recovered " from Lord Halifax were said to be paid to Mr. Reynolds, i. e. 1,200l. for Mr. Reynolds's law-charges, &c. and 800l. to discharge some debts

“ contracted by another breach of trust towards the
 “ Buckinghamshire militia, when Mr. Wilkes was
 “ their colonel,” you well know that you are deceiving
 the public, for I have frequently told you I paid Mr.
 Reynolds 2000*l. on account* for law charges, and
 debt, which he paid for me. The *breach of trust*
 you talk of is among your many barefaced falsehoods,
 which will *cover you with infamy*. Your characteris-
 tic is the evil spirit of lying.

You mention Mr. Heaton Wilkes's behaviour at
 the meeting of the Society on the 27th of November
 1770, and the altercation at that time. I was not
 then present. He had no dispute with Mr. Saw-
 bridge. The particulars of his dispute with Mr. Alder-
 man Townsend on that occasion have already been
 fully stated to the public, in the *Gazetteer* of January
 22, 1771; the Alderman has been repeatedly called
 upon with a spirit which the world has applauded,
 but he has given no answer.

In the *Public Advertiser* of April 15, 1771, in an-
 swer to an attack of an *anonymous* writer, my brother
 declared, “ Mr. Heaton Wilkes was, and still is,
 “ ready to give Mr. Townsend any satisfaction he
 “ chuses. You have my authority to give him my
 “ name.” He left his name and direction, but Mr.
 Townsend chose not to make the enquiry.

You declare, “ Many gentlemen (who had never
 “ before taken any part in the business of the Society)
 “ and some who were not members, were poured
 “ into the room after dinner merely to give a prede-

“terminated vote in order to prevent any final settlement of Mr. Wilkes’s debts.” Your conduct, Sir, was such that *many gentlemen (who had before taken little part in the business of the Society)* now exerted themselves against you; but no person, not a member, has on any occasion *voted*. If such a thing had happened, you ought instantly to have left such an absurd Society. There never was any intention, much less a *vote, to prevent any final settlement of Mr. Wilkes’s debts*. The very idea is ridiculous.

Sir Edward Astley, when I was abroad, had purchased the lease of my house in Great George-Street. When he removed to Downing-street, he mentioned his intention to dispose of the remainder of that lease. I was then in the King’s Bench prison. Many of my friends wished me again in my *old house*. I was talked of with Sir Edward, but nothing concluded, nor did I ever ask any man to be my *security* on the occasion. You declare, “All the gentlemen to whom Mr. Wilkes applied, even the future *chamberlain* and “*town-clerk*, refused to be *security*.” I never applied to any one person on this occasion to be my *security*. Name the man. The conversation you have given as what passed between us is an absolute fiction of your own fertile brain.

I had no dispute with the *treasurers of the Bill of Rights* about the generous benefaction from *Newcastle*.

You say, “He took a country-house at *sixty* guineas “*for the season*; and to compleat his plan of *economy*, “he sent his daughter to Paris to see the *Dauphin’s*

“ wedding, whilst himself was *all the summer* making “ the tour of the *watering-places*.” I rented a ready-furnished house at *sixty guineas for the year*, while my small house here was repairing. When it was compleated, I let the house at Fulham for the remainder of the year. You assert, “ On quitting the “ King’s Bench prison he took a house on a lease at “ *fifty pounds a-year*.” Is it not possible, Sir, for you once to tell the *whole* truth? The rent is *fifty guineas a-year*. My daughter went to Paris at the time of the *Dauphin’s wedding*, on the invitation of a lady of fashion to her own house. I met her at Dover on her return from France, and during the month of August we made a tour together. When you say, that I was “ *All the summer* making the tour of the “ *watering-places*,” it is a malicious falsehood you designedly utter, for I was only absent while the Dog star raged, when there is a vacation from all city business. You mean to insinuate a total want of *economy*. I know *the sin that easily besets me*, and I know too where you and the ministry expect to surprise me. You will both be disappointed. My friends have with pleasure remarked my reformation.

As to the letter from Montpellier, you declare in your *second* letter to me, *before it’s publication*, “ *Publish* it however when you will ; *I am confident*, as “ indeed I have likewise been assured by many to “ whom you have shewn it, *that there is nothing in “ the letter of which I need to be ashamed*.” You kept a copy, as you have acknowledged, of this very

letter. Will you indulge us with the names of some of the *many*, who approve so singular a performance? We shall then know *of whom we ought to be ashamed*. Will you reconcile the above passage with what you say in your *sixth* letter, "It was a mean villany, almost equal to the treacherous publication of a *private, friendly, confidential letter*;" and, "Wilkes with the education of a gentleman has exceeded in meanness and want of sentiment his servant *Curry*," *who robbed his master, and then sold the goods to ruin him*? Your repeated treacheries forced the publication of your letter. On what provocation was Mr. Heaton Wilkes's *private, friendly, confidential letter* to Mr. George Bellas given by him to you, and by you published?

You have frequently accused me of neglecting the *worthy freeholders of Middlesex*, to whom I am under the most peculiar obligations, although you know I have not omitted any mark of regard or gratitude to them. I have the happiness of living among them, and am continually paying my personal respects where they are so greatly due. I endeavour as far as I can to be useful to them and their connections. I have repeatedly made my grateful acknowledgments in person to many of my constituents in London, Westminster, the Tower-Hamlets, Chelsea, Chiswick, &c. &c. *You*, Sir, have been the cause why I have not yet visited more parts of a county, whose noble zeal for liberty I can never sufficiently applaud, and whose distinguished favours are the glory of my life.

I have frequent'y pressed you to attend me to Brentford, and other places. I often desired you to fix the time, but you had regularly some shuffling excuse at hand. In September last I wrote you the following letter :

“ DEAR SIR,

Fulham, Sept. 19.

“ I SHALL esteem it a very particular obligation, if you will favour me with your company when I pay my respects to my worthy constituents at Brentford, and other places, among your numerous friends. I will take any day the most convenient to you, and attend you in a post-chaise where you shall please to appoint. The court of Aldermen generally claim my attendance on the Tuesday, but the rest of the week is free. I have just read “ Another letter to Mr. Almon in matter of libel,” which speaks very irreverently of us both, but there are many things in it worthy your perusal.

I am, &c.

JOHN WILKES.”

“ To the Rev. Mr. Horne.

I made many other fruitless applications to you, but could never get you to fix the time for a tour to Brentford, or any other part of the county. Your particular reason for not attending me to Brentford was, I am told, your unwillingness that I should be witness to the temper of your own parish towards their *faithful and vigilant pastor*. By putting me off

On various pretexts from visiting other parts, you had an opportunity of abusing me continually, as a man who forgot his friends, the guilt of which you knew I had not contracted.

All these attempts to embroil me with the freeholders of Middlesex, the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, the livery of London, the Americans, &c. you will find ineffectual. My public conduct shall always be clear and unexceptionable. As to the connections in private life, I will endeavour *mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere*, preserving still the strong, natural, irreconcilable hatred to all of the *serpent* and *viper* kind.

The sentiments which the county of Middlesex entertain of their *senior representative*, the world has seen on a variety of occasions. What must *their* opinion be of a man who declares he was indefatigable to impose *on them a false, treacherous and abandoned knave*, whom he knew to be such at the very time of recommending him as the guardian of their lives and liberties? If *your candidate*, Sir, was indeed a man *covered with infamy*, the *monster*, the *villain* you painted him, was it prudent, was it safe to elect him to the most important of all trusts, to the most distinguished of all honours which the confidence of his countrymen can give in this free kingdom? If he could have been prevailed upon to relinquish the late Middlesex contest, to betray his constituents, it is well known that he might have made a fortune little inferior to the greater part of his brethren in the court

of Aldermen, but he *stuck to poverty, with peace of mind and integrity*. Nothing, however, but the most consummate *folly*, or an intentional *willany*, would have trusted such *knavery* as you have attributed to him with a treasure of the most real magnitude, as the right of election undoubtedly is. The freeholders of Middlesex knew he was faithful to the glorious cause. They have experienced his unshaken fidelity to them ; and should he be elected *sheriff*, they will possibly have in the ensuing year more than one fresh proof of his unabating zeal and attachment.

Am I to answer your impertinence about claret and French servants ? It shall be in one word. I have not purchased a bottle of claret since I left the King's Bench. Only two French servants are in my family. An old woman, who has many years attended my daughter, and a footman, whom I esteem, as I have often told you, not as a Frenchman, but for his *singular fidelity* to an Englishman during a course of several years, when I had the honour of being exiled. I have reason to believe that from hence originated your hatred to him.

You have described me as a man susceptible of the most *paltry jealousies*, as always refusing the just portion of praise to those with whom I have been, or am, connected. You advance no proof of this. I appeal to all who know me, whether it is my nature to be penurious in the applause of any great, or good, action ; if it has been performed by a friend, whether I have not always been lavish in his praise ? When I

left the King's Bench I declared publicly, " It is a particular satisfaction to me, that I am to enter on my duty at a time when we are governed by *so excellent a chief magistrate*, and have *Sheriffs of the most liberal principles, zealous promoters of the public good, and of approved virtue.*" At the expiration of their sheriffalty, I first started the idea of the livery's returning the late sheriffs thanks, and drew up the resolution. Is this the conduct of a man who entertains mean jealousies of the merit of others? If ever I find myself more disposed to be jealous of public merit than grateful for the service, I will endeavour to conquer so unjustifiable a passion, by a noble emulation of such worth, not by depreciating the possessor. Would to Heaven that no breast was more corroded by *envy* than mine is by *jealousy*! The present Lord-mayor I think an honour to our age and country. I have declared my sentiments with warmth on many occasions, and I am sure posterity will confirm the just tribute of praise he now receives. Mr. Oliver has more than once read lately under my hand, that I did him the *Justice* which he *refused* me.

After a variety of accusations of *private* crimes, you affect to cover the whole with the veil of *hypocrisy*. You say, " I have mentioned these circumstances not as any charges against you, though no doubt they will operate as such." Had your turn, Sir, been to divinity, in the subtleties of the schools you would have outshone Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus, in treachery even the priest *Malagrida*.

You have in your late letters to me accused me of almost *every crime* of which the most diabolical heart is capable. When you wrote the letters to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor I had only *one crime*, of which I own I have not repented. “ *Mr. Wilkes’s crime* is well known to have been his opposing and
 “ exposing the measures of *Lord Bute*.

“ The two Humes, Johnson, Murphy, Ralph, Smollett, Shebbeare, &c. &c. all authors pensioned or promised, had been let loose on him in vain.
 “ The lord-steward of his majesty’s household, (who has *therefore* continued in that post through
 “ every revolution of ministry) and the treasurer to the Princess Dowager of Wales, (who together
 “ with that office has a pension for himself and a reversion for his son) had separately endeavoured to commit a murder on his body, with as little success
 “ as *others had attempted his reputation* : for they
 “ found him *tam Marte quam Mercurio*.

“ The intended assassination of him by *Forbes* and
 “ *Dun* had miscarried.

“ The secretaries of state had seized his papers, and confined his person to close imprisonment.
 “ They had trifled with and eluded the Habeas Corpus.
 “ But still *he rose superior to them all, and baffled alone the insatiable malice of all his persecutors* ; for
 “ though they had in a manner ruined his private fortunes, *his public character remained entire*.
 “ They had spilt his blood indeed ; but they had not
 “ taken his life ; and with it still were left

“ The unconquerable mind, and Freedom’s holy flame.

“ It remained then to make one general attack upon him at once of every power of the state, each in it’s separate capacity. The reverend name of Majesty itself was misapplied to this business. The house of Lords, the house of Commons, and the court of King’s Bench, through the little agency of Carrington, Kidgell, Curry, Webb, Faden, Sandwich, made one general assault.”

The *third* letter of yours to Sir William Beauchamp Proctor states Mr. Wilkes’s *crime* ; his *virtue* was blazoned in the *first* :

“ The violent and inhuman *Bloomsbury gang*—persecuted him (*Mr. Wilkes*) with unrelenting malice, by every illegal and cruel measure, as soon as they perceived he had the *virtue of public spirit*.”

As to the Rockingham administration, my regard to them arises solely from their services to this country and the colonies, not from any personal favours. I do not owe a *pardon* to them, altho’ I warmly solicited it during the whole time of their power. *Soon after they came into employment*, I wished to have gone in a public character to Constantinople ; but I very soon dropped that idea. I never did receive from them either *pension*, *gratuity*, or *reward*. When I said *precarious*, I used the word as synonymous with *dependent*. That upright administration was removed in July 1766. My declaration “ never to accept

“ from the crown either place, pension, gratuity, or
 “ emolument of any kind,” was not made to my
 most meritorious constituents, the freeholders of Middlesex, till June 18, 1768. I then pledged myself to them, and added, that “ I would live and die in their
 “ service, a private gentleman, perfectly free, under no control but the laws, under no influence
 “ but theirs,” &c.

I shall now give a *catalogue of lies in the letters of the Rev. Mr. Horne addressed to Mr. John Wilkes, not mentioned before, cum multis aliis.*

1. “ I blame your public conduct, *and never had a difference with you on any other subject.*”

2. “ You exacted from me, with very earnest entreaty, a promise of correspondence.”

3. I thought it proper to inform you that I was
 “ *only a poor country clergyman, whose situation, notwithstanding his zeal, would never enable him to perform any considerable service either to you or the public.*” Vide the letter, or *the copy you kept.*

4. “ I found you forsaken by all your friends, and shunned by every thing that called itself a gentleman, &c. &c.”

5. “ You represented to him (Mr. Wildman) your situation in France, which made it proper for you to endeavour by little presents, &c. to please your friends there to whom you had obligations, &c.”

6. “ I did write you a *short note* (to Fulham).” It was a letter of a large page, beginning and ending

in all the forms : " Dear Sir," " I am most sincerely, &c." Before it was said, " I saw reasons sufficient
" never more to trust you *with a single line.*"

7. " I have not to this moment read the Essay on
" Woman."

8. " I have to my astonishment found to be true
" not only *all* that has been alleged against you,
" but much more."

9. " The success I have had in defeating all your
" shameful schemes, is the true cause of the dissen-
" tion between us."

10. " I have never had any private pique or quar-
" rel with you."

11. " It is not upon me alone that you have
" poured forth your abuse, but upon *every man of*
" *honour* who has deserved well of the public."

12. " I think I ought to consider something about
" providing for my friends, and being prepared with
" candidates for the city-offices, &c." Words never
spoken by Mr. Wilkes.

13. " My repeated and obstinate refusals (the *pre-*
tended attempt on the chamberlainship) " raised your
" resentment and apprehensions."

14. " I have not changed my opinion of you
" (since I knew you at all) except in degree."

15. " You are at this moment reduced to a little
" faction of about forty very inconsiderable names,
" &c."

16. " Most of those who were so generous to

“ you at that time have since been the objects of
“ your resentment.”

17. “ Every day brought fresh difficulties and disgrace on Mr. Wilkes, and yet he was the only person who all the while felt no distress.”

18. “ The Society (of the Bill of Rights) which
“ disdained the notion of being merely a club for Mr.
“ *Wilkes, of whom the greater part had a very bad*
“ *opinion—*”

19. “ He (Mr. Wilkes) abhorred the Society and
“ its members.”

20. “ He (Mr. Wilkes) was displeased at the Commons house of South Carolina for not sending the
“ money to himself.”—&c. &c. &c. cum multis aliis.

Whether you proceed, Sir, to a *thirteenth*, or a *thirtieth*, letter, is to me a matter of the most entire indifference. You will no longer have me your correspondent. All the efforts of your malice and rancour cannot give me a moment's disquietude. They will only torment your own breast. I am wholly indifferent about your sentiments of me, happy in the favourable opinion of many valuable friends, in the most honourable connections, both public and private, and in the prospect of rendering myself eminently useful to my country. Formerly in exile, when I was *urbe patriaque extorris*, and torn from every sacred tie of friendship, I have moistened my

bread with my tears. The rest of my life I hope to enjoy my morsel at home in peace and cheerfulness, among those I love and honour; far from the malignant eye of the false friend, and the insidious hypocrite.

I am, S I R,
Your humble Servant,
JOHN WILKES.

CONTINUATION of Mr. HORNE's XIIth Letter.

THE Society adjourned from the 11th of December to January 22, 1771, an interval of *six weeks*, instead of the usual adjournment of a *fortnight*; and this was done as well on account of the Christmas holidays as to give the gentlemen, who had been brought to vote without having ever examined the past transactions, time to inform themselves and reflect.

I shall take the opportunity of this long adjournment to relate the points which have been ever since in dispute.

Those who contended that a new list of debts should *again* be adopted, proposed the following :

1. Remaining unpaid part of the list	l.	s.	d.
settled on April 17, 1770	—	696	0 7
2. Notes of hand to Mr. Maclean,			
for money lent to Mr. Wilkes at Paris	1250	0	0

Carried over — £. 1946 0 7

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over, ———	1946	0	7
3. Notes to Sir Robert Foley, for ditto ———	420	13	6
4. Mr. Reynolds's balance for money advanced (<i>without any order from the Society</i>) ———	1529	9	2
	3896	3	3
5. Together with the bills of Mr. Wilkes, not before brought in, for advertisements ———			

6. And all the outstanding debts of John Wilkes, Esq. *bona fide* due at the time of the formation of the Society *Uncertain.*

The *first* article was admitted, and had never been disputed. The *fifth* met with no objection.

The *second* and *third* articles were for many reasons objected to, notwithstanding Mr. Maclean consented to take 650l. for his claim; and Sir Robert Foley 320l. 13s. 6d. These gentlemen had been members from the first establishment of the Society: they did not then make any claim; some gentlemen said that they declared they never would make any: should the Society now pay them, it would cause reflections on both; it would be said (though I am well persuaded unjustly) that they had enticed others to join in an association *apparently* for Mr. Wilkes, but *really* to get their own money out of other mens pockets. Their *subsequent misfortunes* might very

well justify them for expecting payment from Mr. Wilkes, since he was in a situation to make it; and their very declarations of not intending to claim it, added to the generosity with which in their happier days they had lent him the money in his distress, were loud calls upon his honesty and gratitude. The tables were now turned; Mr. Wilkes was *rich* and they were *poor*: his debts were all paid or paying, a handsome annuity was providing, and he had upwards of 2000*l.* in his purse; I call this *rich*. All these reasons which ought to have prevailed with Mr. Wilkes, were as forcible against their being paid by the Society: for these gentlemen's misfortunes having induced them to make a change in their *political* situation entitled them to no favour from a *public Society*: private ties and public measures are very different things: and though Mr. Wilkes might chuse to have the *two thousand* pounds he had pocketed pass unnoticed, the members, who considered themselves as a sort of trustees for the public, were bound to remember that he had them.

The *fourth* article (*Mr. Reynolds's balance*) was made out as follows;

<i>Reynolds, Creditor,</i>		<i>£. s. d.</i>	
1770, May 14.	To Zachariah Carleton his debt of 2 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> upon Mr. Wilkes's accepted bill, dated June 13, 1763		
			10 13 0
	Carried over,		<i>£.</i> 10 13 0

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over, ———	10	13	0
June 20. To John Cobb's debt of 7 l. 3 s. 6 d. ———	3	11	0
Nov. 14. To Thomas Hotckin, Esq. surviving trustee of Isaac Fernandes Sylva, debt 27 l. 5 s. 7 d. and costs 9 l. 14 s. upon judgment recovered the beginning of Michaelmas term 1770 ———	280	19	0
Nov. 20. To Thomas Rackett, debt 35 l. 1 s. 3 d. ———	17	10	0
Dec. 4. To John Peter Pinson, debt and costs on judgment —	665	0	0
1771, Jan. 7. To Mr. Graves, debt 31 l. 10 s. costs 2 l. 10 s. —	34	0	0
Jan. 8. To <i>Stephen Maginel</i> of Paris, debt on judgment 293 l. 7 s. 6 d. costs 21 l. ———	314	7	6
Jan. 15. To <i>Thomas Borwick</i> , debt 22 l. 15 s. costs 4 l. 8 s. 6 d. —	27	3	6
30. To <i>Eliz. Tunccliffe</i> , debt and costs	20	0	0
Feb. 1. To John Hall, bill on Mid- dlesex election, March 28, 1768	24	2	5
Feb 18. To Mess. Burd and Jaquery, debt and costs on judgment	164	5	9
Feb. 28. To Underwood and Butler To <i>Benjamin Sutherland</i> ———	21	4	0
	8	13	0
	<i>£.</i>	1591	9 2

		£.	s.	d.
<i>Reyno's Debtor.</i>				
Canterbury subscription	—	42	0	0
Mr. ———'s subscription	—	20	0	0
		62	0	0
Balance due to Mr Reynolds,		£.	1529	9 2

Some parts of Mr. Reynolds's accounts were admitted, some rejected. *Maginel*, *Bornwick*, *Sutherland*, and *Tuneclyffe*, &c. being in the Society's list, were admitted ; though the difference against us between those sums in the Society's list and in Mr. Reynolds's account was (by law-expences, &c.) not less than l. 14s. 9d. The *inadmissible* articles were *Sylva*, 280l. 19s. and *Pinson*, of 665 l.

The original debt due to Sylva from Mr. Wilkes was 2009l. 3s. 9d. besides interest, for which 550l. were paid by the treasurers in *composition* ; but it was Mr. Wilkes, to induce an acceptance of the composition from the Society, gave a private obligation to pay to Sylva, one year after date, 2621. 10s. 6d. If the Society had admitted of such claims as these, it was evident they could never come to a conclusion, and the pretence of a composition would have been ridiculous.

The objections to Pinson's debt were of a different kind, and require explanation. At the first establish-

ment of the Society, it was debated whether any *foreign* debts should be admitted as falling within their plan, and it was agreed without a question that they should *not*. However, it being suggested by one of the members that there was a debt of 640 l. of a very extraordinary nature, contracted by Mr. Wilkes at Paris, it was agreed to compound it, if possible, in order to cover his disgrace : for indeed it appeared from the circumstances to be a scandalous fraud upon one BAPTISTE, a French jeweller. Some months afterwards, a *second* of the same nature upon another French jeweller, MAGINEL, of 242 l. 16 s. 3 d. was discovered ; and this was likewise slipped, rather clandestinely, into the list. These two were no sooner paid by the Society, than lo ! PINSON, a *third* French jeweller appeared, with the very same circumstances. This was rather too much—*Another*, and *another*, and *another* ! There was no guessing where this would end. (Indeed, I have lately been well informed, that Mr. H—r, of *Rouen*, is at this time employed to recover for a *fourth* jeweller.) But what made the contempt with which we were treated still more palpable, Mr. Wilkes's attorney had the assurance to pretend that we had made a *mistake* in paying BAPTISTE, and that PINSON was the man we should have paid.

To the *sixth* and *last* article in dispute it was impossible to consent, without being willing to remain for ever a despicable set of dupes ourselves, employed by Mr. Wilkes to dupe others under pretence of the

public cause. Is there a man of common-sense who does not feel the insult offered to his understanding, that, after *three years* and a *quarter* employed in the search, it should be pretended that neither Mr. Wilkes nor his brother, nor his attorney, are yet able to produce a complete list of his debts ? and that it is necessary for the *public cause*, that no subscription whatever for any *public* purpose shall be entered into, until *all the outstanding debts* of John Wilkes, Esq. are discharged, which shall appear to have been BONA FIDE due at the formation of this Society ? Whoever does not feel this insult, must either be as dead to shame as Mr. Wilkes, or as gross as his partizans, neither of whom could perceive the bitter satire contained in their own advertisement, wherein by the restriction, they supposed it possible that Mr. Wilkes might suffer claims to be made for him on that Society of debts which were *not* BONA FIDE due.

ON the 22d of January, 1771, the Society met according to their last adjournment. Great industry had been used by Mr. Wilkes to *pack* a majority, many meetings had been held, and dinners given at the prime minister's (Mr. *Reynolds*) for the purpose. *Sixteen* members, who had never paid the least attention to any part of the transactions, and had scarcely ever attended before, came merely to vote as Mr. Wilkes should please to direct : On the other hand, many gentlemen, who disliked the attempts on the Society, now stayed away, disgusted at altercation and

the indecent behaviour of some of Mr. Wilkes's agents ; it is not wonderful, for in all large companies it is found that public wishes are not so sharp a spur as private interest. The same conduct which is pursued by the minister in *packing* a majority in *another assembly* naturally produced the same measures at this meeting. Like the *House of Commons*, they voted their king *money without an account*, and an *approbation* of his conduct *without an enquiry*. It was by a small majority of a meeting, which consisted of *forty-seven*, " Resolved, 1. That *after the debts due by this Society are discharged*, there be paid out of the " first unapplied monies which shall come into the " hands of the treasurers of this Society the sum of " 600 l. to pay Mr. L. Maclean in full satisfaction " for all debts due from John Wilkes, Esq. to the " said L. Maclean.

" 2. Resolved, That a farther subscription be now " opened for the purpose of discharging *all the outstanding debts* of John Wilkes, Esq. which appear " to have been *BONA FIDE* due at the time of the " formation of this Society.

" 3. Resolved, That the public conduct of John " Wilkes, Esq. since his enlargement from the King's " Bench prison hath been such as merits the approbation of this Society.

" 4. Resolved, That the public be informed that " there are *SOME* old debts of John Wilkes, Esq. " which still remain unpaid, and that their farther " contributions are *NECESSARY* to discharge them."

It was in vain to represent to them, that they were imposing upon the public: That the Society, when they solicited their subscriptions in April 1770, had published an account of what debts of Mr. Wilkes still remained due, in order to induce them to subscribe: That after this *certain* account given, and after *three years* search, they were now talking to the public in *vague and uncertain* expressions of “ *All the outstanding debts BONA FIDE due,*” and of “ *some old debts of John Wilkes Esq.*” That the restriction of BONA FIDE was supposing in Mr. Wilkes the extremity of ingratitude and MALA FIDES: That on the 24th of July, 1770, eight gentlemen had lent to the Society seven hundred pounds, on the following condition—“ As the sum wanting to compromise Mr. Wilkes’s debts *does not exceed one thousand* pounds, “ we the underwritten will advance to the treasurers “ of this Society the sums annexed to our respective “ names, on the credit of the Society of the Bill of “ Rights :” That they were now violating that condition, and making it impossible to believe any account the Society might hereafter give to the public; and that since that loan near *five thousand* pounds had been discharged for Mr. Wilkes: These and all other arguments were in vain; they did not want to examine accounts, or to consider what was past; they came to vote for Mr. Wilkes, and the propriety of the measures was left for him to reconcile.

Finding all arguments in vain, and knowing very well by what sort of a majority the questions had been

carried, I was desirous to put to the test the extravagant zeal and prodigious personal disinterested friendship which had been expressed for Mr. Wilkes. I *moved* that the subscription might *instantly* begin, and called upon them at this time of their excessive professions, when so many zealous members were present together, to shew their sincerity by their subscriptions. My motion was by no means relished, the gentlemen felt the difference between *voting* away *other* mens money and *giving their own*. There was much struggle to avoid the question; but the ridicule was too strong even for them; they were ashamed, immediately after voting the subscription, to vote against its beginning. The question therefore was carried UNANIMOUSLY. The book was instantly opened and presented to the gentlemen; and when the secretary next morning came to cast up the total of the subscriptions, he found it amounted to the exact sum of ———— £ 0 0 0

After this meeting, many of the most respectable members talked of quitting the Society, which they thought much better than staying there to wrangle, or to be made a mere club for Mr. Wilkes to impose upon the public by *general professions*, and to receive subscriptions solely for the support of his extravagance. It would not have been at all difficult to have persuaded a large majority to attend for *once*, and re-establish the public principles on which the Society first began; but *once*, or many times, would not have sufficed. Mr. Wilkes is too artful and industrious in

mischief, and the tools he works with too stupid and obedient not to have made a *perpetual* attendance necessary. Such an attendance few men can, and still fewer will, give when they have no private purpose to answer; especially where they are to be liable to the ignorance and brutality of such men as Mr. Reynolds, whilst Mr. Wilkes is dexterous enough to avail himself of the former quality in his agents to turn the latter upon his opponents. Besides, it is always much easier to produce confusion than to preserve order; and if Mr. Wilkes could every now and then procure a majority to *adopt* and *publish* some imprudent measure, the Society would be sure to lose their character, and with it their importance: and we knew, for he had declared long before, that he was determined to destroy it. Still we were willing to try every measure to preserve the Society, whose dissolution as to every public purpose we foresaw with infinite regret.

At the *next* meeting therefore of the Society, on February 12, 1771, one of the members rose and desired to be indulged with some conversation, though he was not going to make a motion: He desired only to explain his own sentiments and understand theirs: He repeated his own *public* motives, and shewed they were originally the *declared* motives of the Society: Much dispute, he said, had however been lately held whether these were originally the avowed intentions of the Society, or whether it had been instituted merely for the support and emolument of Mr. Wilkes, to the

exclusion of all other public measures ; he therefore for his part waved entirely that dispute : He desired only to know what were the sentiments the Society would declare now, and whether they would determine to act for the future as a *public* Society, giving support and effectual assistance to every thing which was importantly useful to the rights of the nation and mankind, or confine themselves singly to Mr. Wilkes ? He said he did not mean to make a motion of this, or put it to the vote : If there were *five*, or even *three* members of that Society present who would acknowledge themselves to be confined merely to the raising of money for Mr. Wilkes, he would quit the Society at once without troubling them with any reasoning on the subject.—Several other gentlemen declared the same sentiments.—This conversation was entirely unforeseen ; Mr. Wilkes himself was not present ; his leading partizans were without instructions on the subject ; the professions were only in *general* of public motives ; and *general* professions are safely made by the most interested men, who never mean to come to particulars. Much conversation however passed of a different tendency, yet no one member would acknowledge a *private* principle of action.

The member who spoke first then rose again, and said, Since he found they were all agreed in their *general* motives, he would now make a *particular* motion in consequence ; and he moved—“ That an immediate subscription (in order to raise *five hundred* pounds) be opened for Mr. Bingley, for having

“ refused to answer interrogatories, and to submit to “ the illegal mode of attachment.” He represented to them that it was now near *three years* since Mr. Bingley was first sent to prison; that he had suffered almost as much imprisonment as Mr. Wilkes, and had hitherto received no reward for resisting *attachment* and *interrogatories*, which were much more dangerous and dreadful than *general warrants*; that besides; he was in a station where sentiment and public principle were not so much to be expected as in Mr. Wilkes’s; and therefore required the greater encouragement. He said, he did not desire any gentleman present to subscribe to this; that he knew the money would be raised; the only question for them to consider was, whether the Society should have the honour of the gift, or whether it should be given out of the Society by those gentlemen who had already determined on the measure and were desirous to contribute?

This motion seemed too reasonable to admit of debate, and yet it met with great opposition from Mr. Wilkes’s friends. It was however carried by a majority; and near half the money was *instantly* subscribed.

At the next meeting of the Society, February 26, 1771, Mr. Wilkes attended. He had collected his forces, and was shameless enough to cause them to come to the following resolution:

“ That the first object of this Society, in order to “ promote the public purposes of it’s institution, was “ to support John Wilkes, Esq. against ministerial “ oppression, by discharging his debts and rendering

“ him independent. That this Society having resolved
 “ that the public conduct of John Wilkes, Esq. has
 “ continued such as merited their approbation, and
 “ not having as yet fully accomplished their declared
 “ purpose of discharging his debts, NO NEW SUB-
 “ SCRIPTIONS shall for the future be opened in this
 “ Society for ANY OTHER PURPOSE WHATSOEVER,
 “ until ALL *the debts* of John Wilkes Esq. which
 “ shall appear to have been *bona fide* due at the time
 “ of the formation of this Society, and have already
 “ been given in to ANY *committee* or general meeting
 “ thereof, shall be fully discharged or compromised.”

Before this resolution was passed, every possible
 method was tried for an accommodation : It was pro-
 posed that every person might be permitted in that
 Society to subscribe for whatever good purpose he
 should adopt : It was shewn plainly, that by this vote
 they would exclude from the Society every one who
 wished to do public good, and who yet might not chuse
 to subscribe to Mr. Wilkes, or, having given some-
 thing, might not consent to subscribe any more. Mr.
 Wilkes would listen to no terms ; he was now sure to
 accomplish his wishes, and saw that from this day the
 Society would either exist no longer, or would exist
 for him only.

S U P P L E M E N T.

A N N A L S of the M A Y O R A L T Y of the Right
Hon. BARLOW TRECOTHICK, Esq.

JUNE 29, 1770, he was nominated by the livery, and elected by the court of aldermen lord-mayor of this city. While Guildhall still echoed with his name, his first act and speech was to arraign the conduct of that livery in the most modest manner to their faces for setting aside *Sir Henry Bankes*. He declared Sir Henry *a good sort of man*, although the livery by setting him aside had in effect declared him *a bad sort of man* to be their chief magistrate. On the true *levelling* principle of his countrymen, the *Bostonians*, he likewise declared the late Mr. Beckford, that *first of men*, to whom the grateful citizens have decreed a statue for a long life of faithful only services, *a good sort of man*. He spoke little of himself, finding, I suppose, the subject remarkably barren; but in the conclusion he seemed to allude to the error

committed by the livery in their choice of him *for so short a time*,—an error which will not be repeated, I believe, even *for so short a time*.

June 30, he attended the lord-commissioner Smythe. The recorder, in gratitude for his former *personal* favours to Mrs. ———, *a good sort of a woman*, gave him a *clear head*, great vigour *of mind*, a love of—his country, an attachment to the welfare of—his fellow-citizens, and a veneration for the laws. The lord-commissioner seemed to hold all these fine things said by Mr. Recorder very cheap, or to think them very ill applied; for he desired his new lordship *not to break the laws himself, and to see them well observed in the city*; a proper and obliging compliment, but entirely useless, for October 24th his lordship signed the *ILLEGAL pres-warrants* himself, and ordered all the constables in the city to violate the laws after his example.

Sept. 18, all the calls of an expensive nature being over for the year, his lordship, from the greatness of his soul, invited to the Mansion-house the *whole* common-council, and provided an entertainment for *half* of them. Those who came first dined with his lordship, the rest with *Duke Humphry*—not *Coates*—they wished that they had. Of the fragments were taken up and sent to the various prisons of this city, baskets
oooooooo.

Oct. 5, issued from the *Mansion-house* a manifesto of this city-king to the public. It declared, that he was a party man; that he owned himself linked with a

faction, and acted in public with a particular set of men, but did not mention a syllable of soliciting the instructions, asking the opinion, or promising to obey the commands, of his constituents, the citizens of this metropolis, who will undoubtedly at the next general election add this tool once more to the Rockingham faction.

Oct. 24, he admitted into the city whole bands of ruffians under the name of *press-gangs*, caressed their chiefs, gave them the sanction of his name and authority to all the constables, and let them loose against the laws, the peace, the liberties and franchises of London.

God be praised, this day is Nov. 8!

A SKETCH OF CITY POLITICS.

MALAGRIDA has been long hovering over the city, and now he vainly imagines it will soon become an easy prey. I believe that he is mistaken. He is indeed subtle, bold and enterprising, but like all very artful men, he generally outwits himself. He never walks in a straight path. Where others take the direct road, he always prefers the crooked, serpentine way. He cannot go directly to the point, even when it leads in a right line to what he himself wishes. So eccentric a genius was never seen. If at any time his interest leads him to the public good, the means he employs always disgrace the end. His first appearance

was merely as the runner of Lord Bute, and his most early ambition to be viceroy under his Lordship. All the dark negociations with Lord Holland were managed by Malagrida. He continued for a short time the bosom-friend and favourite of both those *patristic* Lords, and supported all their measures in and out of parliament, particularly the peace of Paris, and the late excise on cyder and perry. Many savage attacks on Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons by his blood-hound, Barré, were made during the reign of this *virtuous* triumvirate, when they concurred in endeavouring to run down the *great commoner*. That union was soon dissolved by repeated proofs of Malagrida's treachery, and the two other Lords at last only agreed in a mutual complaint of his baseness, and, what is very singular, of *both* having been betrayed by that *young man*. Lord Holland, who is certainly the most compleat judge in the world of a knave, declared that *he was born a Jesuit*, and first christened him *Malagrida*; a name which has stuck to his Lordship ever since, as that of *Jemmy Twitcher* has to Lord S. The public ratified the justice of the happy allusion in both instances. *Malagrida* has lately joined himself to his old enemy, the Earl of Chatham. This junction has been effected solely from political views. The *Jesuit* observed how frequently, and to what advantage, Mr. Pitt formerly played off the city against the court and the administration. He hopes to do the same, and considers Lord Chatham as a dying man, whose rich succession he means to inherit. With this view he

sends Alderman Townsend to every common-hall, common-council, and committee ; and the Brentford parson he orders most indecently to *jump on tables at taverns*, to harangue for the same purpose at every meeting of freemen and liverymen where he can get access, although he is neither freeman nor liveryman. All this Malagrida will certainly find in the end highly degrading and absolutely ineffectual. The influence of Lord Chatham has ceased in the city. He has no more weight there than at St. James's. The constant city phrase of him is, *The funeral, Sir, is gone by*. The livery at large have the most just notions of public freedom and their own independence. Alderman Townsend is the only magistrate who has been gained by the *Jesuit*. He hopes to come in with his patron, and under him to enjoy a good place, or *contract*, or both. In the late declaration under his hand, he studiously avoided saying he *would* not in future accept a *contract*, nor has he yet declared that he does not wish to be both a *placeman* and a *contractor*. He may at the present moment safely abjure both, and will probably continue to regard *Harley* with still more *envy* than hatred. The Brentford parson looks up for preferment to the same quarter, and therefore has always held the pen for them, even in the *Sermon* he published, which his bookseller Almon advertises in the list of the *political* pamphlets printed for him in 1769. Sawbridge, Oliver and Stephenson are unjustly suspected of a connection with *Malagrida*. They are known by the friends of liberty to have the cause of

their country at heart, and not to pace in the trammels of any man, or faction. If *Wilkes* has common understanding, he must know that he can stand only on the public and popular ground: Should he connect himself with any present or future minister, he would become a party-man, be soon swallowed up and undone. He has solemnly declared against all places, pensions, &c. He must fight under the banners of the people *only*, and chiefly in great and national causes. *Malagrida* knows this, and in the despair of gaining him endeavours his destruction. Hence *Barré's* late abuse of him in parliament, and the *Brentford* parson's false and invidious accounts of all the late public transactions in which *Wilkes* has been concerned. The late lord-mayor, in the rescript from the Mansion-House of Oct. 5, avowed himself a partizan of Lord *Rockingham*. Alderman *Bridgen* is well disposed to the public, but seldom attends city-business. The father of the city is a courtier. He hopes soon to leave the froward children, of whom he has long complained, and to be included in the next promotion of Irish peers. When Alderman *Peers* awakes, I shall be able to give some account of him. *Turner* is deservedly the contempt of both parties, from a trimming, shuffling, prevaricating conduct on every occasion, and appearing to be equally destitute of dignity, sense, or principle. *Bankes* is ready, from disappointment and revenge, to join in any measures which can lessen the credit and authority of an upright livery, who have repeatedly shewn their abhorrence of him. *Harley* wishes for

more regiments to cloathe, *Roffiter* more hats, and *Shakeſpeare* more ropes to make, although thoſe he has already are not deſtined to their juſt purpoſes. *Alſop*, *Halifax*, *Kite*, *Glynn*, *Kennet*, *Bird*, &c. &c. are men of moderate ambition as well as talents, and only expect a few lottery-tickets to be thrown into their laps at *par*, therefore are miniſterial. Such is the preſent political ſtate of the city magiſtracy.—To add a word on a larger ſcale :

The impartial world hold the *Rockingham* party to be the moſt *innocuous* ſett among the preſent candidates for power ; but all good men fear *Malagrida* and his faction, as truly *dangerous* to the conſtitution of this kingdom. The above impartial account ſhews how weak they are, where they affect to be the moſt powerful. It will likewise comfort thoſe real friends of liberty, who know how deſperate, but muſt now be convinced how impotent too, their malice againſt their country is likely to prove.

Dec. 14.

A C A R D.

THE Public preſent compliments to John Wilkes, Eſq. and the Rev. Mr. Horne ; and beg that the former will acquaint them whether he ever, and when, intends to publiſh the Hiſtory of England, which two years ago he ſaid was in the preſs ; and that the latter will inform them, if ever and when

they may expect the publication of the narrative of the bloody transactions in St. George's Fields, the ever-execrable 10th of May, which he repeatedly promised to lay before the public.

Dec. 26.

IN your paper of yesterday, there is a card addressed jointly to Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne; claiming from the one his promised publication of the *History of England*, which two years ago he said was in the press; from the other, his promised publication of the *Narrative of the Transactions in St. George's Fields*.

From the manner of coupling his claims, the author of that card seems to be unacquainted with the nature of them: it is proper he should be informed how much they differ.

Seven years ago Mr. Wilkes received guinea subscriptions for a promised publication, which he never gave. Whilst he was at Paris he entered into treaty with Mr. Almon to write a History of England, and received *three hundred pounds* from the bookseller in part of payment. When he came over to England in 1768, a subscription was opened at Lee and Ayton's, the bankers, for the purpose of paying his debts. This subscription amounted to a very few hundred pounds. It being very insufficient to pay even half a crown in the pound of his debts, Mr. Wilkes persuaded the treasurers to pay the 300 l. to Mr. Almon,

and take the profits of his History. At length the famous *Introduction* was published, and orders were given to Mr. Almon, that the subscribers to the other promised publication in 1768 should now have an *Introduction* instead of it.

The History itself is not yet, and we may venture to say never will be, begun. Here, Mr. Printer, was a fourfold FRAUD. 1st, The subscribers to the publication, which was never given, should have received their guinea back again for their receipts, and not the half-crown *Introduction*, for which they never subscribed: 2d, If Mr. Wilkes had *really* obtained from the bookseller the *whole* 300l. in part for his History, the bookseller was to have been defrauded: 3d, The treasurers were imposed upon when they were persuaded to pay 300l. for a History, *which was never to appear*, out of a fund appropriated for the payment of Mr. Wilkes's debts, and not to put *ready money* into his pocket; indeed almost all the 300l. was thrown away: 4th, The public at large were *cheated* into the purchase of that which was an *Introduction* to nothing. However, I must say, that *in fact*, though not in *intention*, Mr. Wilkes acted more honestly to forbear his History, than to proceed in it; for his *specimen* sufficiently shews what the performance must have been, as well in matter as manner: to pass over other things, he must, to be sure, be an excellent historian, who, *in his specimen*, makes a mistake of a whole century.

And now for the claim on Mr. Horne: On what is it founded? An advertisement appeared in the pa-

pers, soon after the *transactions in St. George's Fields*, that a narrative of them would **SPEDILY** be published *by Mr. HORNE*. Do authors or readers consider such an advertisement as a *promise*, or a signification of the author's *intention*? Might not Mr. Horne be very well justified in forbearing to give it, even if it was only because he had altered his mind, and did not chuse it? How much more then if he saw some danger which he did not chuse or thought imprudent to risk? because he had rashly throughout that day exposed his life to collect the witnesses, secure the murderers, and bring the authors and actors of that bloody massacre to light; because he did this in the heat of that honest indignation, which such a scene of horror inspired; and because, still impressed with the same zeal, he declared his *intention* to lay the particulars before the public; is he therefore tied down, by any manner of reasoning, coolly to incur a danger afterwards, which either reflection or fresh circumstances might make him believe improper? Suppose Mr. Horne was promised by his friends that there should be a parliamentary enquiry, or at least an attempt for a parliamentary enquiry into those transactions, and therefore advised by them to forbear such intended publication, was not Mr. Horne at liberty to follow his own judgment? Did Mr. Horne ever receive subscriptions for that or any other purpose or publication? Is Mr. Horne in any sense of the word, except in voluntary labour, the *servant* of the public, or of any one *man*, or of any *party* of men? Has Mr. Horne at any time received any obligations, except

those of friendship, civility, and respect, from the public, or from any individuals? Has Mr. Horne in any period of his life been a candidate either for honour or profit? He has asked many votes for others, but can the public bestow any vote or favour on Mr. Horne? Does he fill the papers with paragraphs about himself? Does he act like one who is weak enough to think the praise of fools a laudable ambition? What claim then has any man, or set of men, upon Mr. Horne for his services, except indeed it be the services he has already performed, the repeated hazards he has already run, and the labours and expences with which, for three years past, he has been hourly exhausting himself?

It appears to me that these, and many other reasons of the same nature, which will suggest themselves to every mind, would have been a sufficient justification of Mr. Horne, if he had not, according to his *declared intention*, published a *narrative of the transactions in St. George's Fields*.

But, Sir, the implied charge of your correspondent in that card is false. Mr. Horne has published a narrative of those transactions. I was present at the Mile-End assembly-room when he repeated the circumstances to the freeholders; and I read afterwards, in the *Middlesex Journal*, a very accurate account of what he had spoken; which explains, very fully and particularly, the transactions of the bloody tenth of May, together with the subsequent proceedings on the trial of the soldier.

I think what I have said above necessary, because

I have perceived daily paragraphs industriously and artfully inserted by *Mr. Wilkes* for some time past, in all the papers, against Mr. Horne. *General* charges, which may be applied to A. or to B. or to every other letter of the alphabet, are not to be heeded: Why does not Mr. Wilkes descend to *particular facts*? Whenever he will do so, I dare say he will have an answer. For three years past I have seen much *general* abuse on Mr. Horne's character by his *enemies*, but they have never yet ventured to come to *particular* charges: we shall now most probably see whether those, who have been *in confidence* with him in all the public matters in which he has been concerned, can bring any. I have ventured thus to say a word or two in defence of Mr. Horne, because it may happen to me also, on some occasion, to differ on principle from Mr. Wilkes's opinion; and I do not think it such high treason against HIS majesty, as that I should deserve, in punishment for my presumption, to be hung up as a traitor. I do now therefore bespeak, in return for my defence, the assistance of the gentleman whom I have undertaken to defend. I am, Sir,

A FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX, AND NO INCON-
SIDERABLE SUBSCRIBER TO MR. WILKES.

Dec. 28.

I AM not surprized to find the Reverend Mr. Horne become a suppliant for the public protection, against the attacks with which he is daily assailed. Unable to defend himself on grounds of truth and

justice, he fancies he can do it by calumniating another, and wisely supposes he shall exculpate himself, and obtain public favor, by injuring and exposing the man whom he has hitherto been proud of calling his friend.

His happy distinction between promising, and signifying his intention, by advertisement concerning the transactions in St. George's Fields, is of a piece with his supposition that he was promised *by his friends* that there should be a parliamentary enquiry. A parliamentary enquiry promised by the friends of Mr. Horne! *Risum teneatis?*

Mr. Horne's modest queries shall be distinctly answered, for which purpose it will be necessary to state them.

“ Did Mr. Horne ever receive subscriptions for that, or any other purpose or publication ? ”

It is well known that Mr. Horne has received many subscriptions for different purposes, of which no accounts have ever been exhibited, nor do I believe he would chuse to lay them before the public.

“ Is Mr. Horne, in any sense of the word, the servant of the public, or of any one man, or of any party of men ? ”

The public are convinced, that he is not merely the servant, but the foot of Malagrida, who will reward him with the ass's hoof.

“ Has Mr. Horne, in any period of his life, been a candidate either for honour or profit ? ” “ Can the public bestow any vote or favour on Mr. Horne ? ”

The life of Mr. Horne began, as I understand, about four years ago, when he was produced to the

world as the friend of Mr. Wilkes, and, as such, received a degree of public countenance and favour, which his merit or abilities would never have entitled him to. The honour of being a friend to Mr. Wilkes, and, through him, to the public, was the only one I could have conceived he had vanity enough to be ambitious of. Whether he ever meant to derive any profit from subscriptions—from his vamped-up Sermon, Mr. Foote's Apology, Mr. Miffling's Letters, &c. &c. must be left to himself.

“ Does he fill the papers with paragraphs about himself ? ”

Gentle reader, be pleased to attend to the letter which contains this very extraordinary question :

“ What claim then has any man, or set of men, upon Mr. Horne for his services, except indeed it be the services he has already performed, the repeated hazards he has already run, and the labours and expences with which, for three years past, he has been hourly exhausting himself ? ”

Modest Mr. Horne ! wonderful man ! who does so much, and says so little about it. Why did you not particularize some of your services, Mr. Horne ? aye, and some of your expences too ? You could easily have done the latter ; for I once heard you declare, that the Middlesex petition cost you sixty pounds ; and nobody contradicting you at that time, I suppose you have conceived that the public will swallow any absurdities. But it seems, Mr. Horne has published a Narrative of the Transactions in St. George's Fields.

“ I was present (says the letter before me) at the
 “ Mile-End assembly-room, when he repeated the
 “ circumstances to the Freeholders, and I read af-
 “ terwards, in the Middlesex Journal, a very accu-
 “ rate account of what he had spoken.”

I also was present at the Mile-End assembly, when Mr. Horne pronounced this famous speech, in the whole course of which, he, “ the hero of his tale,” assumed to himself so much consequence, and loaded himself with so much applause, as to send me and many more of his auditors away, possessed of a most hearty contempt for him, and of a much-abated zeal for a cause where such a man was to appear “ the leading God.”

And now, Mr. Horne, let me address myself to you with a word or two of serious advice. Hang out your name no more in the public prints ; the world is tired of you, and your name ; you are to sink into the oblivion from which Mr. Wilkes’s friendship raised you ; retire then to the duties of your cure, and wait with patient (though I venture to assure you vain) hope, that Malagrida will call you forth on his exaltation into office, to confer on you the reward of your toil in his service.

SCOURGE.

Dec. 31.

TO MR. WILKES, alias SCOURGE.

S I R,

YOU are certainly in the right to attempt no defence of the fourfold fraud with which I charged you; for though your silence will carry thorough conviction to the public, yet you have the consolation to know that your character cannot suffer. You continue to lead Mr. Horne with your abuse; but still it is *general*. How often must I call upon you to descend to *particulars*?

As for Mr. Horne's importance with the public, which you talk of, I dare say he desires as small a share of it as even you would be willing to allow him.

But you say, "It is well known that Mr. Horne has received many subscriptions for different purposes, of which no accounts have ever been exhibited, nor do I believe he would chuse to lay them before the public." Very well, Sir; though this is no justification of yourself, yet it looks like coming to some point. I have only to desire of you to name what subscriptions you mean; and if you can raise even a *doubt* concerning the conduct or character of Mr. Horne in that respect, I will readily acknowledge him to be as great a scoundrel, as you must confess yourself to be if you decline this challenge.

A FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX, AND NO INCONSIDERABLE SUBSCRIBER TO MR. WILKES.

Jan, 2, 1771.

YOUR correspondent Mr. Horne is extremely angry at being told that he has received many subscriptions for different purposes ; and, with a mildness and decency of language peculiar to himself, challenges me to name what subscriptions I mean. I will accept this challenge, and promise him to be very particular in my accounts of these subscriptions. But in the mean time Mr. Horne must entitle himself to these communications, by acknowledging or disavowing his having ever received any subscriptions, or any profits, from the several publications mentioned in my last. If he acknowledges, he will of course set forth the account and disposition of the monies that he has received : if he denies, I will meet him with proofs.

Jan. 4.

S C O U R G E.

To Mr. WILKES, alias SCOURGE.

WHEN impudence rises beyond a certain pitch, there is that kind of merit in it which belongs to every thing very extraordinary. It disarms one's anger, and makes a man condemn himself for being peevish at that which ought only to excite his laughter. Such merit has your letter of yesterday ; in which you command Mr. Horne to lay before the public an account of the money produced by the sale of his Ser-

mon, and the particular articles in which he has disposed of it.

Adieu, Mr. Wilkes ; make yourself merry with the weakness of mankind ; but take care you do not reverse the fate of Congreve's lover, whose mistress begun by laughing AT him, but finished by laughing WITH him.

A FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX, AND NO INCONSIDERABLE SUBSCRIBER TO MR. WILKES.

Jan. 5.

TO MR. HORNE, alias A Freeholder of Middlesex,
and no Inconsiderable Subscriber to Mr. Wilkes.

YOU are a wretched judge of style, or you could not have imputed either of the letters signed *Scourge* to Mr. Wilkes—You again mistake ; he did not confine himself to *generals*. He brought a *particular* charge of *falsehood* against you for your account of the *Westminster* business, to which you have not replied, and therefore I am satisfied that he will never more give you a line, unless you sign your real name. He has already classed you with the *Jemmy Twitchers*, the *George Onflows*, and other *dear old friends* of these times. He must now laugh at your gross abuse, and at the silly attack of a writer, who objects nothing to his *Introduction*, but an *erratum* advertised in the public papers at the time of its first appearance, and tells a tedious tale of his selling it to a bookseller,

which, if true, is nothing to the purpose. Where is your *promised justification*? You abused several other authors for their false accounts in the preface to your own, and then declared yourself *ready to vouch the authenticity* of your own; but, though repeatedly called upon, have never advanced a syllable in your justification. You afterwards threw out several dark hints, entirely founded on imposture and falshood, worthy only of the most rancorous and malevolent of all beings—except one. But Mr. Wilkes dared you to speak out, to set your name to any charge against him, and he would give you a full confutation: You have made no reply. He must then be an idiot if he paid a moment's attention to so shameless a writer, who delights to sport with *truth*, or continued to be on terms of intimacy with the most treacherous and dangerous of all men; one whose least crime it is, that

He tells whate'er you think, whate'er you say;
And, if he lie not, must at least betray.

You call yourself no *Inconsiderable Subscriber to Mr. Wilkes*. You subscribed indeed that you might become a member of the *Bill of Rights*; but have you *paid* one shilling? You have entirely evaded *Scourge's* questions about the various *subscriptions and publications*, and would confine the enquiry only to the *profits* of your sermon. He therefore, I suppose, will have done with you. I shall not let you escape in

this manner. You say, "that you have only to desire of him to name what subscriptions he means." I will state a few. It is known, that amazing sums for the following purposes having been collected by Mr. Horne, but only Mr. Horne knows how they have been applied. You are called upon to state how he has disposed of the large sums he collected for the following purposes: 1. Serjeant Glynn's election, ten guineas each from most of his friends. 2. The Widow Bigby's appeal. 3. Gillam's trial. 4. The affair of the weavers in Spittlefields.—You owe this to all your friends, and above all to the Serjeant.

Now, Sir, I will give you a story of a bookseller and Mr. Horne, not about the profits of his *sermon*, which I believe were *soon* settled, but of a pamphlet published by Mr. Foote, the surgeon. That gentleman had himself drawn up an account of his examination of poor *Clarke*, one of the persons murdered at Brentford: He had added several judicious *chirurgical* observations, and the pamphlet would have been short, but unexceptionable. Mr. Horne persuaded him to omit almost every thing which suited his profession, and to add many venomous political sarcasms, as little suited to the profession of the *reverend* gentleman, in order to make a shilling pamphlet. Mr. Foote paid the expence of advertising, &c. to the amount of near twenty pounds. The pamphlet had a rapid sale;—and now let me ask, Did Mr. Horne or did he not call on Mr. Davis, the publisher, in Piccadilly, and take up between 40*l.* and 50*l.* of him on account of the profits of this

pamphlet, in which Mr. Foote had only considered Mr. Horne as a *friendly* coadjutor in the public cause? Soon after this transaction, did not Mr. Foote himself call on Mr. Davis to settle the profits of the pamphlet, and was he not exceedingly surprized and chagrined at the conduct of the *reverend* gentleman? Has he not expressed his indignation at this treatment to Mr. Davis, Mr. Horne, and several of his friends; and has he hitherto had any satisfaction from Mr. Horne? Will you please, Sir, to clear up this matter, and to give us, with the account of your subscriptions, the evidence of Mr. Davis, both the father and the son, with Mr. Foote's justification of your *disinterested friendship* to him?

You may address this, if you judge *now* as well as you did *before* of the style of a writer, in another letter to Mr. *Wilkes, alias*

Jan. 8.

CAT O'NINE TAILS.

Now, by my soul, it makes me blush to know
 My spirits could descend to such a foe;
 Whatever cause the vengeance might provoke,
 It seems rank cowardice to give the stroke.

CHURCHILL.

CAT O'NINE TAILS is mistaken in supposing I have done with Mr. Horne; his answer to my last is indeed almost too contemptible for my notice, yet I cannot suffer him to misapply my contempt, and conceive it to be indulgence; he shall have no more indulgence at my hands than his merits

entitle him to, and that will at present be a very small portion.

I do again exhort him, or if he likes the word better, *command* him, if he has yet remaining a wish to have one honest man his advocate or friend, to lay before the public accounts of the several sums he has received, not merely from the sale of his Sermon, but from the several other publications mentioned in my former letter, and from subscriptions. If he still continues to evade my questions, the public will put a proper construction on his silence, and impute knavery as well as folly to his ill-timed mirth.

But if Mr. Horne cannot fully and effectually refute Cat o'Nine Tails' story, in your paper of yesterday, I will spare his answers to my queries, for I will never give a single lash to one so totally lost to all sense of shame and honour, but will thenceforth give him up as a disgrace to the pen of

Jan. 11.

SCOURGE.

Fenchurch-Street, Jan. 16, 1771.

I THINK it my duty to declare that the charge brought against Mr. Horne, relating to the Society at the London Tavern, of which I am Treasurer, is false, scandalous, and groundless; and all the other charges, as far as I know or believe, are the same.

RICHARD OLIVER.

Piccadilly, Jan. 16, 1771.

Messrs. R. and W. Davis think it incumbent on them to declare that the charge brought against Mr. Horne, concerning Mr. Foote's pamphlet, as far as it relates to them, or comes within their knowledge, is totally false.

ROBERT DAVIS.
WILLIAM DAVIS.

Jan. 16, 1771.

THE charge against the Rev. Mr. Horne, as far as it respects my election, is false and groundless: With regard to the other charges, my experience of the integrity and disinterestedness of Mr. Horne entitles him to my testimony, if his general character had not made it totally unnecessary.

J. GLYNN.

THE charge brought against Mr. Horne relative to the subscription for the Widow Bigby's appeal is entirely false and groundless: What Mr. Horne has said concerning it, in his letter of this day, is true. —I have the list of the subscribers, and the account of the money paid to the attorney, and the balance due to Mr. Horne is 39l. 4s. I believe the other charges have as little foundation.

Serjeants-Inn,
Jan. 16, 1771.

W. TOOKE.

To Mr. Alderman OLIVER.

Y O U say in the Public Advertiser of this day, that “ You think it your duty to declare, that the “ charge brought against Mr. Horne, relating to the “ Society at the London Tavern, of which you are “ Treasurer, is false, scandalous, and groundless; “ and all the other charges, as far as you know or “ believe, are the same.”

The words of the charge are, “ You call yourself “ no Inconsiderable Subscriber to Mr. Wilkes. You “ subscribed indeed that you might become a member “ of the Bill of Rights; but have you paid one shilling?”

1. Is it scandalous to assert that Mr. Horne subscribed to the Bill of Rights?

2. Is it false, scandalous, and groundless to assert that Mr. Horne never paid one shilling of what he never subscribed?

3. Do you not recollect, that Mr. Horne’s name stood opposite to 100 l. subscribed at the first meeting of that Society?

4. Has not the book, in which the names of several members of parliament and others, with Mr. Horne’s, were written by themselves, been for several months taken away and secreted by Mr. Horne, although frequently called for by the Society?

5. Did not Mr. Horne admit at the last meeting of the Society, that he had taken the book away, and did not know what was become of it?

6. Do you know any thing of the truth or falsehood of the other charges?

Jan. 18.

QUERIES to Messrs. ROBERT and
WILLIAM DAVIS.

1. DID not Mr. Horne receive from you, or either of you, the profits of Mr. Foote's pamphlet, or at least the greater part of the said profits?

2. Did not you, or either of you, pay that money *without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Foote?*

3. Did not Mr. Foote express to you, or either of you, his displeasure at this proceeding?

Jan. 18.

TO Mr. JOHN HORNE.

SIR,

I HAVE read your letter of justification with pleasure, which would have been still greater had you confined yourself to yourself, to justification only; but you have made an indirect charge against Mr. Wilkes, which I am very glad I have authority to contradict. The paragraph in your letter which insinuates that Mr. Wilkes was the author of the "illiberal abuse on the late lord-mayor," hath not even the shadow of truth to support it. Mr. Wilkes neither wrote the letter complained of, nor did he ever speak to the person who was the author; the love of truth has obliged me to give you, as well as Mr. Trecothick, this information. In this I have two views; first, to clear Mr. Wilkes of this charge; and,

R

secondly, to let the public see that your performance (though in other respects praise-worthy) is by no means free from *malevolence and ill-nature*. To convince you or Mr. Trecothick of this matter, please to call any morning at Sam's Coffee-house, Custom-house, and you will be farther informed, by

Wednesday, 16th Jan. 1771.

S. W.

To Mr. H O R N E.

S I R,

Thursday, Jan. 17.

AFTER waiting above three weeks, *Scourge* and I have got a sort of an answer from you. You are forced to acknowledge the receipt of very considerable sums, but you do not state to the public the particular applications of them, *the very thing which you were called upon to do*. I know that many of your subscribers wish it, as to Mr. Glynn's election especially; and the more, as there are several debts still remaining unpaid.

It does not at all appear by your letter but that very large sums may have been sunk, and many subscriptions never brought to account. Your pretended delicacy gives real suspicion. *You*, more than *Lowry* or *Hankey*, have been the *banker* of the patriots. Give us your *banker's book*. Do you think that such words as "sums were collected by me from time to time, and were paid as occasion and opportunity offered," will satisfy the public?

You have not answered any part of the charge brought against you relative to Mr. Foote's pamphlet. Did you not receive from either of the Davis's the profits of that publication, *without the consent of Mr. Foote*, who thought you assisted him as a *disinterested friend*? The two Davis's ought to be more particular, and to clear up that matter. The *son*, as well as the *father*, is concerned in the business. How is the question I put to both *son* and *father*, *visiting the sins of the fathers on the children*? Your mean *sins* were mentioned, not the *sins* of either of the Davis's. Since when are you grown so fond of the Bible as to *quote it*? You tell us, "that for three years past, your time has been ENTIRELY applied to public measures." What! not a day given to the cure of souls? to the care of your *Brentford* flock? I must then say, *Infelix O semper oves pecus*; and, if *Lucretia's* story, in the *London Evening-Post*, and other anecdotes, be true, I ought to add, as you talk of your *private life*, *Ipse næram dum fovet*. Recollect likewise your midnight and morning vigils, Sunday not excepted, at the Whist-table. *There* your life has been almost ENTIRELY passed. Mr. Wilkes has often laughed with you about this total sacrifice of your time, and called you in joke "the *Cardinal Priest*."

You say, "that an agent of Mr. Wilkes declared some time ago, that it would be useful to him and his affairs to come to an open rupture with you." I totally disbelieve the fact; and your character for

veracity is so far lost, that unless you give us the name and the proof, it will pass among the rest of your absurd fictions. Remember your declarations about what you pretended Lord *Hillborough* said of Mr. Onslow, and the flat denial his lordship gave you, both in the papers under his hand, and on oath at Guildford, that "the contrary was true, and your imputation as false as scandalous."

You say, "that you have been the drudge of almost every popular election, prosecution, and public business; but never the object of any one." Pray, Sir, was you not prosecuted by Mr. Onslow? and is there not now a verdict against you? Who called you, Sir, to any one meeting, or *taavern*, at London or Westminster? Who asked you to play the mountebank on the top of a table, amidst bottles and glasses, a certain clergyman crying out, at the King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill, "There's your Brentford Doctor; see what a despicable figure he makes; there's a parson for you?" The soberest friends of Liberty think you injured and disgraced the cause: many suspect you betrayed it.

You say, "that you never did subscribe any thing to the Bill of Rights." How then are you a member? The public understand that only those persons were admitted, and had the privilege of voting there, who had *contributed* to the declared purposes of forming that society, expressed in the preamble of the first subscription paper. You are charged with having for several months carried away the original subscrip-

tion book of the Bill of Rights, in which you were set down for 100 l. It can be traced to you, and it is expected that you produce it *unaltered* at the next meeting.

How did Mr. *Oliver*, and other of your friends, blush for you, when they found you descend so low as to talk of *six - ix pounds, four shillings, and three halfpence, not being sufficient to furnish Mr. Wilkes with two months claret*. That meanness, which marks your character, has in this instance sunk you in the estimation of every liberal mind, and alone would have damned your letter. At the open table kept at the King's Bench, *when Mr. Wilkes was always at home*, what part of the claret charge do you think was yours? You mean this invidiously, to hurt him in the opinion of the world. You will not succeed. He is become an *economist*; nor has he made the purchase of a single bottle of claret, as I am told, since he recovered his liberty; therefore the shafts of your malice recoil on yourself.

I know enough of the parish of Brentford to believe *one* article of your letter, *that you did not collect the sum paid in from thence to the Society of the Bill of Rights*. I believe you may have collected twice as much from the *card-tables* there, and in the neighbourhood, within a year or two, notwithstanding *your time has been ENTIRELY applied to public measures for three years past*. How many of your town, as well as your country friends, must laugh at the assertion? Your mistake about Mr. Trecothick is

wilful. You know he never asked Mr. Wilkes the question about an *anonymous* paper. He has more sound sense than you. He would have foreseen what probably would have been Mr. Wilkes's answer, because it actually was his answer, under his hand, to Lord Talbot: "I must first insist on knowing you right to catechise me about an *anonymous* paper; if you are not satisfied with this, I shall ever be ready to give you any other satisfaction becoming me, as a gentleman." You now compliment Mr. Trecothick; when he was elected mayor, you said to several friends on the hustings, *I will trim him so, that I will not leave him a rag*. All Mr. Wilkes's friends know, that he never wrote a line of *Scourge*, or *Cat o' Nine Tails*. All your friends know, that you wrote the first card about Mr. Wilkes's history and your own promised publication, relative to the massacre in St. George's Fields, and all the letters, so vain and fulsome in your praise, signed *A Freeholder of Middlesex, and no Inconsiderable Subscriber to Mr. Wilkes*, which your *card* was meant to introduce. But, appear under what signature you will, you shall be dragged to light, and given to the public in your true colours, by

CAT O'NINE TAILS.

AT a former meeting of the Bill of Rights, a committee of accounts was fixed to meet on a Friday at one o'clock. Mr. Heaton Wilkes and Mr. Rey-

nolds (whose presence on that committee was absolutely necessary, to explain certain claims on Mr. Alderman Wilkes) met accordingly at one o'clock: they waited till three o'clock, at which time Mr. Heaton Wilkes and Mr. Reynolds told Mr. Vaughan and the other gentlemen present, that as they had waited two hours, and then by business were obliged to go away, they hoped Mr. Vaughan would give their compliments to any more gentlemen that might come, and inform them, they desired they would adjourn the committee, and fix a meeting at any hour the day following, and they would both attend. When Mr. Horne, Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Oliver came to the committee, Mr. Vaughan mentioned Mr. Heaton Wilkes's and Mr. Reynolds's request; but they refused to grant it, and proceeded to the business. Mr. Heaton Wilkes, at the next meeting of the Society, related the above particulars to the Society, and complained of them as unfair, uncandid, and ungentleman-like. Mr. Alderman Townsend flew into a violent passion, and called him out. Mr. Heaton Wilkes was following him, and expressed his readiness to give him any satisfaction that became him as a gentleman; but they were both stopped by the interposition of the company *.

Jan. 22.

* See this account referred to in p. 190.

To Mr. Serjeant G L Y N N.

S I R,

Y O U would have surprized your friends by your name appearing lately in the papers, if it was not known by them how easily you may be brought to sign any thing. Did you, before you signed it, read the paper, or the other about *press-warrants*, which is known not to be your opinion? You say, "The charge against the Rev. Mr. Horne, as far as it respects my election, is false and groundless." Now, Sir, THERE IS NO CHARGE. It is said, that Mr. Horne had collected very large sums, but had not accounted for them." Is it said that Mr. Horne had embezzled them? Point out where *that* is said, or even insinuated. Mr. Horne only answers, *that he has received large sums, and has laid them out at occasion and opportunity offered.* If you, Sir, do not give a better answer to the public, and your subscribers, I know what they both will think of you.

Jan. 24.

T R U T H.

SPEECHES at the Meeting of the SUPPORTERS
of the BILL OF RIGHTS, March 12, 1771.

R O B E R T M O R R I S, Esq.

M R. C H A I R M A N,

T H E proclamation issued for apprehending the printers is on all hands, I think, allowed to be illegal. I do not believe that there is in the whole kingdom

a lawyer's clerk, who does not know it to be equally repugnant to the spirit and letter of the law and the constitution. The law, though not so well known, is as clear against commitments by the house of Commons. They have nothing to support their pretensions but their own vote, which certainly is not binding on any but themselves; an act of the three branches of the legislature being the only authority that is, besides the common law, acknowledged by England as valid. Matters being thus circumstanced, I am sorry to find that such magistrates of London, as belong to this Society, do not afford protection to the printers, and rescue them from lawless violence. My concern for this neglect, this fear, or this tergiversation, is the greater, that, if the officers of the house of Commons, or any other person but a minister of this city properly authorized, takes these obnoxious men into custody, the rights of the city are violated; it being legally impossible for King, Lords, and Commons, to seize any citizen of London without the consent of its own magistrates. Were they even to make an act for that purpose, it could not have any force; because the act made in favour of the city, in the reign of William and Mary, ought to be considered as a constitution, and as irreversible as Magna Charta; for indeed it is the Magna Charta of the city. For all these reasons, it gives me pain to see the printers deserted; and I wish Mr. Alderman Townsend were present, that I might complain to him, face to face, of his having forfeited his word,

by refusing to be the man who would release them, if they were apprehended in consequence of this illegal proclamation. Indeed I have already talked to him on the subject, and asked why he did not perform his promise? His answer was, that he did not find he should be supported by any *great man*, and otherwise it would be folly.

J O H N R E Y N O L D S, Esq.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

M R. Townsend may wait for the support of *great men*; but I am persuaded, that there is here present a member who will act upon other principles, and do his duty, whether he is or is not countenanced by *great men*.

M R. A L D E R M A N W I L K E S.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

T H E illegality of the proclamation is to me so clear a case, that no magistrate, who values the laws, will hesitate a moment to release any man that is apprehended by virtue of such an unconstitutional authority. I shall always be proud of having the concurrence of this assembly; and I doubt not but I shall have it on this occasion. But, were I not to be so happy, yet, as the matter is so plain, as my line of duty is so distinctly marked out by the laws, I will follow where it points the way. Fearless of consequences, I will, as I have always done, prefer duty to interest; nor

look up to any *great man* for that protection which the laws ought to afford. If they must be silent, if despotism is become so irresistible in this country as to stifle the voice of the laws, who would wish to survive them? But we are not yet come to this desperate crisis. The laws will be heard. They may for a time be overborne; but they will in the end prevail. The people of England are not yet so tame or pusillanimous as to give up their birthright, their laws and liberties. In this comfortable hope I will stand out against every arbitrary mandate, and discharge the printers, if they are brought before me for commitment under no better authority than that of the *king's proclamation*, or the *warrant of Sir Fletcher Norton*.

I AM a member of the Society called the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*, and I have constantly attended all their meetings. I therefore think it my duty to contradict an advertisement in your paper, that the Society met on the 19th of this month at the London Tavern, and came to several resolutions. The whole is an imposition on the public and the Society. No such meeting could be held. The Society had determined at their former meeting, on the 12th of this month, *That the next meeting should be held on Tuesday the 9th of April*, and *that letters be wrote by the Secretary to all the members of this Society to attend at the next meeting on important business*. The form of the circular letter was settled by the Society,

and it runs in these words: " Sir, at a meeting of
 " the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, held at the
 " London Tavern, Tuesday March 12, it was re-
 " solved, that all the members of the Society be de-
 " fired to attend at *the next meeting, April the 9th*,
 " upon important business. It is therefore hoped
 " that you will not fail to give the Society the plea-
 " sure of your company upon that occasion. I have
 " the honour to be, &c. &c. *Thomas Boddington*, secre-
 " tary." Mr. *Boddington's* subsequent conduct has
 surprised many of his friends, as the title of *secretary*
 could not be regularly used by him for another notice,
 which was in contradiction to the plain directions of
 the Society itself. From this letter it appears, that
 the gentlemen, who attended at the meeting on the
 12th of this month, wished to have the sense of *all*
 the members of the Society taken in the fairest and
 fullest manner as to the whole of their future proceed-
 ings. It was *unanimously* resolved. Notwithstanding
 this resolution, in the evening papers of Saturday the
 16th appeared an advertisement for a meeting of
 the Society on the Tuesday following, signed by Mr.
Boddington, the secretary. The advertisement was
 discontinued on Monday, and taken up again in the
 Tuesday morning papers. In this uncertainty, and
 on this short notice, many of the members were ex-
 ceedingly embarrassed about the propriety of their
 conduct. Two very respectable members went in
 person, and protested against all the proceedings of
 that pretended meeting of the Society, and declared

to the gentlemen present, that they were not regularly assembled as the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*, and that all their proceedings would be void. One of the gentlemen gave in the following *protest*, signed by seventeen respectable members of the Society. "To
 " Mr. Boddington. Sir, the next general meeting
 " of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights being ap-
 " pointed by the Society for Tuesday the 6th of
 " April, and circular letters being directed to be sent
 " to all the members to desire their attendance that
 " day on important business, we protest against any
 " meeting of the Society previous to that time, as
 " *irregular and invalid.*"

It is justice to the chairman, *Sir Francis Blake Delaval*, to declare that he expressed great doubts about the regularity of that meeting, but was over-ruled. About twenty gentlemen attended, among whom were all those who absented themselves from the former meeting; but UNANIMITY will not prevail. I know that the very gentlemen who signed the protest wish that the affair of the printers should be considered by the Society; but they thought that it was impossible to be taken up till the next regular meeting, and knew that there was no danger in the delay. I have studiously avoided every personality in this relation, and now shall submit it to the public, whether any society can subsist, if on so short notice, against the express resolution of a former meeting, and a protest of many considerable members, such meetings can be held and denominated meetings of a society. Such a

proceeding seems to me not only void of candour, but has a direct tendency to surprize, is delusive and tricking, opening a door to every species of fraud, and calculated to destroy the wisest plans and best digested resolutions of any society. It is well known that an express act of the whole legislature was necessary even for the parliament to assemble legally *before* the time fixed at an adjournment or prorogation, even on the greatest emergency, if the sovereign should happen to die. The case of the printers was no emergency at all. It is certain that they are not only indemnified but well paid by the *proprietors* of the news-papers, who, at the end of the year, would only divide half or a quarter per cent. less among themselves. The question however is not the propriety of the resolutions, but the fairness, and even validity, of any resolutions under those circumstances of the Society. I hope, therefore, the general meeting on the 9th of April will declare the *pretended* meeting on the 19th to have been *irregular* and *invalid*, and will not suffer their proceedings to be entered among the *real* *genuine* acts of the Society. I am, S I R,

A Member of the Society called

SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

March 25.

THE campaign is opened, and the conflict will not be shunned by any true Supporter of the Bill of Rights. The public have a right to be informed of

the proceedings of a Society which assumes to exist for their benefit; and shall certainly be made the arbiter of their conduct. It was proposed very early in the institution of that body, to publish the names of the members; the motion for that purpose of our late secretary was then over-ruled. But it was at the same time the avowed intention of the whole Society, to give at some period of time a full history of all their transactions, and render up a just account of the distribution of all the sums with which they had been intrusted. That period I believe is now approaching, and the public will then be able to form a complete judgment, whether the SUPPORTERS deserve any longer to be themselves *supported*; and whether either or which of the parties, that now divide that Society, deserve to have a place in the confidence of the people.

It has been declared, that an advertisement in the papers declaring that the Supporters of the Bill of Rights had a meeting on the 19th of this month, and came to several resolutions, is an imposition upon the public and the Society. How far it is an imposition upon the public will appear by the verification of those gratuities which are promised to the persecuted printers. What imposition it can be upon the Society, I am at a loss to suggest, unless the Society is to be considered as the mere committee of one individual, existing only for the purposes of paying those debts which he ever has or ever may contract. It would then indeed be a great imposition upon him; for he could not but behold every farthing issued to any other pur-

pose, however important, however temporary, however patriotic, as a sacrilegious robbery of the public for he and the public will ever be the same. In that light he acts indeed as a true friend to the people, when he attacks the last meeting of the Supporters as spurious and invalid. Should many future meetings be held for the same purpose, he foresees that less will remain to be drawn out of the private purses of the members for his public purposes. If he does not continue the sole object of support, they no longer deserve the title they have assumed. They become traitors to the people, apostates from the cause, the mere emissaries of an aristocratic faction, equally inclinable to oppress the people with the present administration, when they shall obtain the power. ¶

The world will not judge of this by words but by actions. The minutes therefore of the last meeting will speak, whether the members then present deserved the title of Supporters, or the protesting absentees, one of whom has now manifestly brought the dispute to the dreadful trial by pen and ink ; a trial where he esteems himself so powerful, and by the dread of which even thinks to prevent any repulse of his invectives. This writer now chuses, for the first time, to avoid, as he says, every personality ; though the whole of his letter is in substance a personal attack. Had he conceived it would have made for his interest to have instanced the names of the party which he endeavours to make odious to the public, he would no more have hesitated upon personality than he has

done in all his former writings. Did he believe that the list of his brother protestors was not so respectable as that of the gentlemen who composed the last special meeting of the Supporters? It will be far from me to say they are not; but how nearly they mount in importance, I will leave to the judgment of others when they have perused the names of both.

Members present at the Special Meeting.

Sir F. B. Delaval in the chair.

Colhoun	Sheldon	Towgood
Warrington	Arthur	Tooke
T. Oliver	Morris	^a Withers
Bull	Pearson	^a Perry
Lovell	Jefferies	^a Dr. Dawson
Manning	Keighly	^b Baldy
Skey	Davis	^c R. James.
Edridge	Horne	

Protestors against the meeting.

Rev. Dr. Wilson	Ellis	Crompton
H. Wilkes	Hayley	Mason
Reynolds	Turner	Rhodes
Jenk. Jones, jun.	R. Jones	Cawdron
Sam. Petrie	Staveley	J. Wilkes.
Churchill	Martyn	

^a Came in after dinner.

^b Dissented and withdrew as soon as the business was declared.

^c Came after dinner merely to deliver the protest.

S

In justice to the protestors as well as to the gentlemen who composed the meeting, it will be proper to give another written declaration by a very respectable member, who, though he never considered with himself the regularity or validity of the meeting, as an assembly of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, thought the meeting premature, and therefore improper. He refused to sign the protest of the seventeen, to which he was pressed, and being asked for his sentiments in writing, he gave them as follows :

“ IN the very early state of this business, I am of opinion, that the advertisement from the Society for a meeting tomorrow cannot answer any good end. If subscriptions should be necessary, I imagine they might be obtained from the minority of the House of Commons. That minority, or part of them, will dislike the measure, when it appears they are to act a secondary part to the Supporters of the Bill of Rights. I therefore, for the present at least, dislike the Special Meeting, advertised for 19th March.

March 18.

J. MAWBEY.”

This written opinion or declaration was tacked to the protest as a rider, and delivered in at the same time.

S C I P I O.

March 26,

Most churchmen, tho' they itch to govern all,
 Are silly, woeful, awkward politicians :
 They make lame mischief, tho' they meant it well,
 Their interest is not finely drawn and hid,
 But seams are coarsely bungled up and seen.

DRYDEN.

Saturday, March 30.

THERE has scarcely ever appeared a more wretched advocate of a more wretched cause than your correspondent *Scipio*, whose letter you published on Wednesday. It is impossible not to suspect the *cardinal* priest of Brentford to be the author, or at least concerned in the publication, because the writer employs all *his* usual arts of prevarication, and displays that spirit of rancor and malevolence which distinguishes *him* from almost every other man. He says, "that it was proposed very early in the institution of that body (the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*) to *publish* the names of the members; the motion for that purpose of our late secretary was then overruled." No such motion has since been made, nor any permission granted. I ask then by what right he has now *published* the names of so many respectable gentlemen, as members of that Society. He well knows that some of them will be essentially hurt in their private connections by such a *publication*, and that they are men who sincerely love the cause of liberty, and wish to serve it effectually not ostentatiously; the more effectually, Sir, from the temporary concealment they have *desired*, and *hitherto preserved*.

S. 2

But this *publication* gratifies his rancor, and it is the character of this priest, that *he would burn your house to the ground to roast a single egg of his own.*

I observe that *Scipio* does not controvert a single fact which has been stated by your correspondent in Monday's paper, who signs himself a *Supporter of the Bill of Rights*, nor has he advanced one argument to prove the late *pretended* meeting to be regular or valid, a meeting called on very short notice, contrary to an order of the Society, and protested against by several respectable members ; but he wilfully misrepresents the sentiments of the majority of that Society. He talks of " the Society's existing *only* for the purposes of paying " those debts which an individual ever has, or *ever may* " contract. Two gross misrepresentations have found their way into this short sentence. The first is, " the Society's existing *only* for the purposes of paying, " &c." whereas the resolution of the Society on the 26th of February was, " That the FIRST object of " this Society, in order to promote the public purposes of its institution, was to support John Wilkes, " Esq. against ministerial oppression, by discharging " his debts, and rendering him independent." Where is the word ONLY to be found ? The second deviation from truth is, " those debts which he has or *ever may* contract." A resolution of the same day is as express against this assertion. The words are, " Debts " of John Wilkes, Esq. which were bona fide *due at* " the time of the formation of this Society, and have " already been given in to any committee or general

"*meeting thereof.*" Where now is the good faith of saying, *debts which he EVER MAY contract?* Are they not expressly excluded? But the *high priest* of *Malagrida* equally sports with truth when he talks of the *Bill of Rights*, or *Appleby's*, or the *Denmark Tavern*, and honour and justice are the usual sacrifices he makes at the altar of his personal revenge. Notwithstanding all his rancor and dark designs against Mr. Wilkes, and the declarations he has frequently made, that Mr. Wilkes *must* be destroyed, but the cause would survive, he will however find it impossible either to *secrete* or to quibble away the " Preamble " to the subscription-paper of the Supporters of the " Bill of Rights :

" *Whereas John Wilkes, Esq. has suffered very greatly in his private fortune, from the severe and repeated persecutions he has undergone in behalf of the public, and as it seems reasonable to us that the man who suffers for the public good, should be supported by the public,*" &c. &c. &c.

or the express words of the circular letter dated July 20, 1769: " The public are therefore loudly called upon by every tie of gratitude and humanity, so prevalent in British hearts, to raise an effectual barrier against such oppression, to rescue Mr. Wilkes from his present incumbrances, and to render him easy and independent ;" and while Mr. Wilkes goes on in the same great and direct line of public good, in which he has hitherto walked, the public will never forsake him, nor suffer him to be ill-treated with

impunity. If he grows remiss, or deviates, he ought to be an *outcast*, not only from the *Bill of Rights*, but from every other patriotic society. The names of Crosby, Oliver, Sawbridge, or Wilkes, are equally indifferent to my ear. I esteem the men only in the proportion of their being benefactors to my country.

I shall now, Sir, proceed to state two or three more facts on this subject, and leave the public to draw their own inferences. On a *real emergency* last November, it was proposed to call a *special* meeting of the Bill of Rights *before* the time to which the Society was adjourned. Mr. Horne warmly opposed this ; and declared, “ that it was *impossible* to be done, “ and if such a thing was attempted, he would write “ against it in the papers.” The proposition was then dropped, and unanimity preserved in the Society. Yet at the late *pretended* meeting, without the plea of necessity, he almost alone contended for its regularity and validity, when even the chairman, Sir Francis Blake Delaval, expressed his doubts, and actually complained of having been *surprized* into the chair, without any previous knowledge of the difference of opinion about that meeting.

At the meeting on the 26th of February at the London Tavern, the minister of Brentford, who only enjoys the present mischief, and is perfectly indifferent about the future good, which must arise from the actual troubles, declared to the Society, that the chief reason why he opposed the resolution of *no new subscriptions being opened in that Society till their declared*

purpose of discharging Mr. Wilkes's debts should be accomplished, was, that he himself had COOKED UP A BUSINESS OF THE PRINTERS, with much care and pains, and would soon bring it before the public and that Society. Mr. Horne, who under another name is one of the proprietors, had indeed been frequently with *Wheble*, the printer of the *Middlesex Journal*, had himself written the most obnoxious paragraphs and letters in that paper, and had desired the whole management of the business might be left to him, declaring that *his friends* would commit the messengers of the house of Commons, whenever they dared to come into the city, that he had planned it, and that *Wheble* might be very easy, and was perfectly safe. This arrogant, officious, and unprincipled priest, who finds more pleasure in duping a poor printer or bookseller, than in the conscientious discharge of the most important *parochial* duties, repeated these assurances very frequently, and declared that *he would* manage the whole business. At the subsequent meeting of the Bill of Rights, on the 12th of March, *Mr. Morris* declared, " That he wished " *Mr. Alderman Townsend* were present, that he might " complain to him, face to face, of his having forfeited his word, by refusing to be the man who " would release the printers, if they were apprehended " in consequence of, &c. &c. &c." *Mr. Reynolds* then made a short speech on the business of the printers, and *Mr. Wilkes* closed the debate nearly in the manner you have mentioned in the Public Advertiser of Saturday March 23, that he would do his duty

without ever soliciting the countenance of any *great man*. One important circumstance however is omitted by the author of that account. Mr. Wilkes then likewise told the Society, " That he was so entirely
 " convinced of the illegality both of the proclamation and the messengers assumed powers, that if
 " the printers were brought before him, he should not
 " hesitate first to discharge them, and afterwards to
 " commit for the assault, if complaint of it on oath
 " was made before him; that as to the case of the
 " *messengers*, so long before as the *last day of February*,
 " *ary*, about noon, being on business at the shop of
 " Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, in Pater-Noster-
 " Row, it was mentioned that the *messengers* were
 " then just come into the city, and at that time actually
 " within a very few doors, at a coffee-house,
 " waiting to execute their orders against *Wheble*, Mr.
 " Woodfall's very near neighbour; that he continued
 " there near an hour, and afterwards mentioned where
 " he dined in the city, and that he should remain
 " there till eight in the evening, and if any assault
 " was made on *Wheble*, and complaint exhibited
 " before him, he would certainly do his duty as a
 " magistrate, and commit the *messengers*, unless they
 " found bail."

Notwithstanding all the promises made to *Wheble*, no notice was taken of him by the subtle *Protestant Jesuit*, who as it were by *instinct* at once started up the tool of *Malagrida*, and *Wheble* complained for several days, in the bitterest terms, " That he was now
 " obliged to be confined like a criminal, that his life

“ was become a burden to him, and that he had been shamefully treated, and was now abandoned by *Mr. Horne and his friends.*” The public cause was deserted and given up, if not betrayed, because no *great man* could be found in the *Malagrida* faction to countenance a magistrate in the execution of the laws. *Mr. Horne* would not look further, and the will of *great men*, not the dictates of the laws, must be consulted and obeyed. The transactions of March 15th at Guildhall, before *Mr. Alderman Wilkes*, above a fortnight after the first appearance of the messengers in the city, closed this part of the business, and gave *Whible* liberty and peace of mind. *J. Miller* likewise came the same day with the messenger to Guildhall first, but the business there being finished, and the magistrate retired, he proceeded to the Mansion-House, where every citizen in this mayoralty has in every legal complaint found effectual and speedy justice.

In one particular only I agree with your correspondent *Scipio*, “ That the public have a right “ to be informed of the proceedings of a Society “ which assumes to exist for their benefit.” I will not fail in this paper fully to state *all facts* of importance, and I hope *Mr. Wilkes*, and your other correspondent, who signs a *Supporter of the Bill of Rights*, will both of them give all the intelligence they know to be well founded. I shall think myself bound in honour to suppress many names, where I see the consequences will be injurious to individuals; but fa

shall be stated with truth and precision. After the next meeting at the London Tavern, on Tuesday the 9th of April, you will probably hear again from

JUSTICE.

Monday, April 15.

IN the *Middlesex Journal* of last Saturday is a most virulent attack on *Mr. Wilkes* from the supposition of his being *Sheriff* of this city and county the ensuing year. The *high-priest* of *Malagrida*, who is the *doer* of that paper, *half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad*. It is a very easy task to detect his sophistry and falsehood, and it shall be my employment the next hour to collect and class the forgeries of that paper.

1. It is false, that "all *Mr. Wilkes's* friends have "represented to him the evil consequences of this "step without being able to prevail upon him to desist." *Mr. Wilkes's* most respectable friends first advised the measure, after all the probable consequences had been fully considered, and they have declared their firm resolution to support him, and in the most generous manner. The common-council of *Farringdon Ward* is composed of *sixteen* persons. *Fourteen* were present at the monthly meeting last Thursday. They were *unanimous* in the propriety of the measure, and warm in their wishes for its success.

2. " The county of Middlesex think themselves particularly ill-treated, because their cause is deferred by him whom they so generously and nobly supported." Mr. Wilkes knows the infinite obligations he is under to the county of Middlesex. He has most steadily supported their cause and his own, and will persevere in the same plan through life. He has refused many offers, because he would always be embarked only on the same bottom with his noble friends, the freeholders of Middlesex. *They* wish to see him *sheriff*, and would rejoice that administration, by the vacating Luttrell's *pretended* seat would give the *sheriff* another opportunity of bringing afresh before the public the important question of the Middlesex election. *Their* behaviour would be consistently great. *That* public cause would be again agitated. The plan of Mr. Wilkes's conduct has been already settled, and highly applauded. The public question was taken into consideration in the first instance, and in the fullest manner. There are but *two* events that can embarrass Mr. Wilkes; the demise of the crown, or the dissolution of the parliament during his sheriffalty. The first were a more probable, although a more sad event than the second. Whenever he serves the office, he must necessarily run these two chances of being for some time out of parliament, for he has declared that he never will sit in the house of Commons but as one of the knights of the shire for Middlesex. His worthy constituents likewise know that he has at heart the forming a *new* and *perfect* freeholder's book. He has

already had the advice of his colleague, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, on the subject, who pointed out the various defects and their remedies. The life and property of every man in the county is interested in the faithful execution of this plan, for a more fair and impartial administration of justice.

3. "Yesterday noon (*that is Friday*) Mr. Wilkes "waited on Mr. Alderman Oliver, and told him the "resolution he had taken to be Sheriff next year with "Mr. Oliver." Mr. Wilkes's letter of *Friday morning* will demonstrate the falshood of this assertion.

4. "The purport of the letter, as given by Mr. "Lovell, was, &c. &c. and *to desire Mr. Wilkes to "shew Mr. Oliver's letter to the gentlemen of his "ward, if Mr. Wilkes was determined to persevere "in his attempt."* Nothing like it is to be found in Mr. Oliver's letter. Did Mr. Lovell dare to say *that was the purport of Mr. Oliver's letter?* Did Mr. Oliver send Mr. Lovell, clerk to Mess. Thomas and Richard Oliver and Co. to Mr. Wilkes's common-council, to persuade them to take a part against their Alderman, and to declare *the thing which was not?*

5. "Mr. Oliver gave him many strong *public* reasons why he ought not to attempt it." Mr. Wilkes has not yet heard those *public* reasons. He knows one *private* reason of the Malagrida crew, the fear of superseding their creature, Alderman Townsend, and the subsequent loss of the chaplainship, &c. to their *high priest*. It is known of both these persons, *Conjessisse se in ea castra quò omnis sentina reipublicæ con-*

fluxerat. They followed the camp for plunder. But whatever be the fate of Mr. *Wilkes*, there is no chance of the first power in the city being entrusted to such hands as Alderman *Townsend's*. His affection to the cause of liberty becomes every day more and more suspicious and problematical. In the late business of *press-warrants* and the *printers* he has been remarkably tardy. He has not yet abjured places, pensions, or *future contracts*. He has shewn himself furious, and insolent, without temper or candour. He is now fully known, and to be known with him is to be abhorred. At the last meeting of the Bill of Rights, after the chair had been refused by Lord Mountmorris and Mr. Adair, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge proposed Mr. Townsend. He accepted without hesitation, but behaved in so *ungentleman-like* and unfair a manner, with such a marked partiality, and debated himself with such indecency and animosity, that the chairman himself was frequently called to order, and over-ruled by the Society. Mr. Sawbridge appeared greatly hurt by Mr. Townsend's conduct, and several gentlemen remarked *how exceedingly dangerous it would be to trust him with power*. Such a man can never be the *first* magistrate of the *first* city in the world, without creating infinite confusion.

6. " Mr. Alderman Oliver, and his brother Mr. Thomas Oliver, have contributed one *tenth* part of all the money which has been publicly subscribed for Mr. *Wilkes*." This assertion does not come near the truth, and the books of the Bill of Rights

give the fullest proof to the contrary. The *Oliver* family have been rewarded by the public with an aldermanship and a seat in parliament, without the expence of a shilling. The two brothers seem to understand the laying out money full as well as their ancestors.

7. " Mr. Wilkes has now the gratitude to endeavour to *force* the Alderman to pay the expences of " Mr. Wilkes's *shrievalty*." There is not the least colour for this impudent assertion. The expences of Mr. Wilkes's *sheriffalty* will not be paid, in the *tenth* of the *tenth*, by Mr. Alderman, or Mr. Thomas Oliver. No such idea was ever harboured by Mr. Wilkes, or any of his friends.

8. " Mr. Wilkes's colleague will be answerable in " his *person* and *fortune* for all the desperate acts Mr. " *Wilkes* may chuse as Sheriff to perform." Is any man answerable *criminally* in his own *person* for what another does against his consent? The absurdity is palpable. As to *fortune*, that is a *private* consideration, no *public* reason. It is well known that all *pecuniary* transactions are left to the *under-sheriffs*, who give ample security.

I am sure Mr. Wilkes sees with deep concern that a man of so amiable a character as Mr. Alderman Oliver should be drawn into the violent vortex of the Brentford parson, where the natural sweetness of his temper and his candour are totally absorbed and perish. The Alderman forgets in his letters the politeness of the gentleman, and assumes a rudeness which is in-

consistent with the humane feelings of his heart. I hope that he will soon return to his usual good humour, and that he is not soured by his confinement in the Tower. The letter to Mr. Wilkes is in every respect unworthy of the writer, if he did not walk in leading-strings. The other letter in answer to the committee of the common council is still worse. It is a furious declamation, and very disobliging to the gentlemen concerned, at a moment too when they shewed a particular civility to the Alderman. The committee desired *his directions that they might execute the trust* (of providing a *table* for him at the expence of the city) *in the manner most agreeable to himself.* He omitted to thank the gentlemen for such a mark of *their* attention and regard, and only *transcribed*, as an answer about a *table* to be kept for him, a dissertation on the *apology due from the House of Commons*, and the state of the nation for *the last ten years*, both at *home* and *abroad*,—"Abject abroad and insolent "at home."—This is not his natural note, which is by no means harsh or loud, but soft and sweet. One should imagine by such a specimen that he had no compass, and possessed only one *single* note, but he has indeed great variety. The parson's dull monotony tires you. *He* can only cry *cuckoo, cuckoo, cuckoo.* At present he sings for the bird in the cage, till at last *he* is hoarse, and *you* are deaf.

The Protestant Jesuit of Malagrida, who always bears the torch of discord, had the insolence likewise to draw up an answer from the committee to Mr. Oliver's letter, in a strain quite raving. One of his

friends was weak enough to carry it to the ge in Mr. Horne's *own hand-writing*. The co rejected the letter with indignation.

I desire to add, that all the cabals of Mal faction have lately been held in Mr. Alderman apartments in the Tower, from whence ha cceeded the most violent attacks on the *Lord-m Mr. Wilkes*, and all the obstructions to the c a *common-ball*. The Malagrida gang have the *Lord-mayor* in the grossest terms, and l boured more assiduously to destroy *Mr. Wi* even the *Carlton-House junto* ever did. Th *mayor* has been let into no secrets of the pa asked to attend any meetings of business. N munication has been had with the city's excell magistrate, because he will lend himself to r or faction. He, still more than Mr. W. is the favourite topic of the abuse of Malagrida The livery at large are however the best judge present, and every other business of the city. will not be governed by the wretched cabals c signing few, much less by the most danger desperate party of the state, where the foulest l of the body politic meet and ferment. The app be to them. Mr. Alderman Wilkes has decla readiness to submit to the determinations of the and Mr. Alderman Oliver, if he hopes for thei favours, must neither be refractory nor disol The event would otherwise be *his* political lation. I am, S I R, your's,

T R U

TO JOHN WILKES, Esq.

S I R,

THAT I may be explicit as early as possible after our desire that I should explain myself concerning the shrievalty, I must inform you that I am determined not to serve the office of sheriff with you ; because I really do not think from your own declarations that your political aims are similar to mine.

This resolution I must communicate to the livery, you join me in your nomination.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

London, 11 April, 1771. RICHARD OLIVER.

TO RICHARD OLIVER, Esq.

S I R,

Prince's Court, Friday, April 12.

I DID not receive your letter till nine last night, when I was in the city with my common-council. When we were alone a very few days ago, you asked me, if I meant to be sheriff the ensuing year. I answered with the frankness of my nature to a friend, that if I had the honour of being chosen, I would not decline that troublesome and expensive office, and that, in the actual crisis of affairs, I really wished it for various reasons of great public utility, which I am persuaded live still in your memory. Yesterday morning I put the same question to you. Your verbal an-

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swer was not explicit ; your letter is. You say, " I am determined not to serve the office of sheriff " with you." The propriety of such a declaration does not strike me. I consider it as the duty of every gentleman to submit to the livery the choice of his colleague, and not to refuse an office, because he disapproves another person, of whom his own constituents entertain a favourable opinion. I am ready to serve the office of sheriff with you, Sir, or any other gentleman given me by the livery as a colleague, should they think proper to elect me. You add, " Because I really do not think from your own declarations that your political aims are similar to mine." My *declarations* have always been very explicit ; my *aims* fair and honourable. I am satisfied that yours are no less upright. I started much earlier than you in political life. I gave my public creed on several occasions. You have done the same. Our sentiments have always coincided, altho' our expressions have varied. How then can our *political aims* not be *similar* ? I wish to know in what they differ. I will at any time yield to the conviction of superior reason.

You conclude, " This resolution I must communicate to the livery if you join me in your nomination." I never entertained the idea of any *nominatation* proceeding from myself. If I am called upon, I will serve, but I shall never dictate to the livery what they should do. I shall likewise not fail to communicate to so respectable a body every transaction of

a public nature, respecting their rights or interests, and I will obey their commands.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

N. B. *Mr. Wilkes received no answer to this letter.*

IN your paper of yesterday is a very curious account of a meeting of the Antigallicans at Mile-End. This account I am satisfied comes to you from Mr. Wilkes. You will indulge me with inserting a few remarks.

The account says—"Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Alderman Wilkes, and *several other gentlemen* walked in procession with the stewards."—Who are these *several other gentlemen*? I will venture to say there was *no other gentleman* whose name was thought proper to be given; for if there had been, Mr. Wilkes would not have failed to grace his own triumphal procession with the respectable names of these *several other gentlemen*.

Again the account says—"The gentlemen of the association went to the Tower to pay their compliments to the LORD-MAYOR," that "They passed to his LORDSHIP's apartments. Mr. Alderman Wilkes in the name of the *gentlemen* thanked his lordship in a short speech for the noble stand he had made, &c. and desired his permission to nominate

“ him for the presidentship of the ensuing year. ”
 “ association then joined again at the Tower-gate
 “ and proceeded through Whitechapel to Mile End.
 In all this account not a word is mentioned of
 ALDERMAN OLIVER ; and the public are left to con-
 clude either that Mr. Oliver has not *made the*)
noble stand, &c. as the Lord-mayor ; or that he is
 now in the Tower ; or that the gentlemen of the as-
 sociation disapproved Mr. Oliver’s conduct ; or
 they were so forgetful as to pass him by. If
 readers of that account imagine any one of these things
 they will be much deceived ; and that deceit is what
 Mr. Wilkes intended. The fact is, that all the gen-
 tlemen except Mr. Wilkes (who walked backwards
 forwards amongst the trees in the interval) paid their
 compliments to Mr. Oliver. The same management
 of Mr. Wilkes is observable in all the papers ; where
 you will generally find that *this* ward and *that* ward
 with their maces and beadles, &c. waited on the LoRD
 MAYOR with *this* and *that* address, to which his lord-
 ship made such and such answers ; but you will seldom
 find any address to or answer from Mr. ALDERMAN
 OLIVER : And yet the fact is, that there has not been
 any one address presented to the *Lord-mayor*, which
 has not been accompanied with one to *Mr. Oliver*.
 But *Mr. Oliver*, like a man of honour, honesty, and
 understanding, has refused to be the colleague of Mr.
 Wilkes ; because he knows the impostor and his designs,
 and will not either abet or conceal his roguery
 or be involved in his disgrace ; or trust his character

in such treacherous hands: Whereas "*Brass Crosby* " is," (as Mr. Wilkes himself told Mr. Rigby last summer at Tunbridge). "A fine hard-headed fellow, " that will do any thing Mr. Wilkes shall bid him." Besides that, *Mr. Oliver* is a character out of Mr. Wilkes's reach, which it is therefore his policy to smother if he can betimes; but of *Mr. Crosby* he has no fear nor jealousy; he can at present mould him as he thinks fit, and can safely trust him with any degree of popularity, and the moment he is refractory destroy him at his pleasure. But there is something more extraordinary in this last article I quoted of this account: Mr. Wilkes was so very full of himself, that he has quite overlooked his poor friend *Brass Crosby*, even at the very moment he meant to do him honour; for he does not let us know whether the *Lord-mayor* made them any answer: *Mr. Alderman Wilkes* indeed made a *short speech*, but the poor Lord-mayor it should seem did not make *any speech* at all; nor can we from this account discover any more than that Mr. Wilkes "Desired his permission to nominate him for "the ensuing year," but whether the Lord-mayor gave his permission or not, we are left entirely in the dark; for as soon as Mr. Wilkes had finished his *short speeches*, we find "The association THEN joined again "at the Tower-gates." Under favour of Mr. Wilkes, I must think it a great piece of absurdity for him to bring the gentlemen into the Tower to the Lord-mayor's apartments merely to hear his own *short speech*, which he might as well have delivered to them at the

Ship Tavern. Mr. Wilkes indeed, and those who have been a little behind the scenes, know very well that the poor Lord-mayor's opinion is never looked after, and that if it was it must be done by Æsop with a lanthorn; but why should Mr. Wilkes explain that matter so soon to the spectators? Why could he not stay at least till the present mayoralty is expired?

Mr. Wilkes then gives a ridiculous account of the military, with as much truth as he before related his disappointment when he would have dined with the officers.

But all this is excusable compared with what follows. We are told, that *Sir Joseph Mawbey took the sense of 142 Antigallicans about the propriety of Mr. Wilkes's being Sheriff.*

Whether Sir Joseph Mawbey is a freeholder of Middlesex or not is more than I can tell. He may have bought a freehold within these six weeks; but of this I am sure, Sir Joseph Mawbey never yet attended any one meeting of the county; has never voted either for Mr. Wilkes, or Mr. Glynn; has taken no share in any of the hard struggles upon this business in the county. Whether these 142 Antigallicans were freeholders or not, does not appear. No notice was given to the freeholders of the county of an intention to take their sense on this matter; and Mr. Wilkes had determined it before even this meeting of the 142 Antigallicans. We have never yet heard who were those respectable friends of Mr. Wilkes, who advised this measure. Mr. Wilkes has endeavoured artfully

to insinuate that Mr. Serjeant Glynn approves his plan ; whilst on the contrary Mr. Glynn makes no secret of his opinion, but declares plainly to every man that asks him, his very strong disapprobation of Mr. Wilkes's attempt to be Sheriff. Mr. Wilkes has too mean an opinion of the *understanding* of mankind *collectively*, and of their *integrity individually*. His own cunning and wickedness will do for him what all the malice and power of a court and a ministry could not. Is this the manner in which he treats that *voice of the people*, which with a scandalous and fulsome flattery he calls *the voice of God*?—Mr. Wilkes determines to be Sheriff; he declares that resolution to several persons ; having resolved, he calls his common-council together, without informing them of the business he meant to bring before them ; *fourteen* of them attend him; over the table he surprizes them with a sudden question ; those who have not formed any opinion upon it, and those who dislike it, are silent ; some one man approves it, and proposes his health as Sheriff; and this Mr. Wilkes calls an unanimous approbation. And from this kind of unanimous approbation of *fourteen* unapprized gentlemen, Mr. Wilkes would have us collect the sense of the livery. The sense of the livery being thus obtained, Sir Joseph Mawbey is to procure the sense of the county in the manner related : And thus Mr. Wilkes has the three-fold sanction of his *respectable friends*, of the *livery of London*, and of the *county of Middlesex*. *Sir Joseph Mawbey*, good easy man, answers for the first; the

fourteen surprized common-councilmen for the second; and 142 *jovial Antigallicans* for the third. These 157 persons utter the *voice of the people*, and this voice of the people is the *voice of God*; which I have no doubt Mr. Wilkes reveres as much, and ridicules as little, as he does the voice of that eternal God, to whom he will one day find the secrets of all hearts are open.

To complete this farce, and to furnish the superlative degree of disgust and ridicule to the honest Antigallicans, James Adair, Esq. a learned counsel at the bar, steps forth in aid to the eloquence of Mr. Wilkes and Sir Joseph Mawbey, a *third* shrivell orator.—“ When Mr. Adair sat down (the account says) there was a general cry of *the question—the question*.”—It always happens so where this gentleman speaks; every man is afraid lest he should speak again; and it must be a most fatal question indeed, when any one of his hearers would not rather have it decided against his own interest or wishes, than hear Mr. Adair’s argument for or against it. The Antigallicans were full to satiety, to loathing; and they could not be sure but that Mr. Adair might have a brother in the room. Mr. Adair, however, as a faithful counsel, should have informed the Antigallicans, that when a Sheriff refuses to make a return to a writ, there are methods to procure a legal return without him. And he ought to know, that the Sheriff is an *officer* in the election from whom, as from other officers, a ready obedience is expected to the competent jurisdiction

under which he acts; that where the jurisdiction is competent the officer must obey and cannot do wrong; his orders are his justification; and disobeying he cannot do right. The Sheriff when he receives a writ is, in the execution of it, an officer, not a judge. If Mr. Wilkes could be justifiable in what he proposes, so would other Sheriffs be if they likewise presumed to judge; the consequence of which would be either that the Sheriffs, who are appointed in most places by the king, would make what house of Commons they please; or that making no return at all to the writs, we should have no parliament. The Sheriff knows the vacancy only by the writ.

Mr. Wilkes talks much of making a *freeholder's book*; if Mr. Wilkes could (which he cannot) fulfil his promise as he would have his promise understood, it would be the strongest reason with me against his being Sheriff. Mr. Wilkes is the last man in England to be trusted with that power. The impartiality of juries, and the impartiality of the freeholder's books can alone continue juries useful; the opinion of that impartiality can alone make them respectable, and leave the justice of their verdicts unimpeached. Is Mr. Wilkes in fact, or in the public opinion, that *impartial* man fit to be trusted in the formation of juries who are to do equal justice to men of every party, to his foes as well as to his friends? And though we might give him credit so far as to suppose him free from any prejudices of affection or gratitude, has he no rancor, no malice to gratify, no selfish, no in-

interested purposes to answer; and though he should forget to hurt his enemies, can we be sure he would neglect that voluptuous feast of a diabolical mind, the exquisite enjoyment of destroying his friends? Can it then be supposed that Mr. Serjeant Glynn would ever advise and approve, or Mr. Alderman Oliver ever join with Mr. Wilkes in *packing* of juries, by modelling the freeholder's book? And can the public be so grossly gulled? Can Mr. Wilkes himself hope to succeed in his folly by such a paltry artifice? He has lately found himself much mistaken in his general notion of the depravity of individuals; he has found in very many of them an integrity which no foolish popularity can corrupt. Sir Joseph Mawbey may think (as he not long since publicly declared) that "To pretend the public when we mean only the private is a pious fraud." Mr. Wilkes has however discovered, that his most *effectual* benefactors were sincere in their declarations that they would "Support him" and his cause, as far as it was a public cause." When he would lead them astray for his own private purposes, and change a generous *public Society* into a sponge to be squeezed only into his pocket, he has seen the *same men* recoil who for three years past have been foremost in the danger, the expence and labour of his affairs. Since then he must now know by experience that there is more *individual integrity* and sincerity in mankind than his own heart could imagine, let him learn to suspect that there may be more *understanding* in the people *collectively* than he has hitherto supposed.

The account closes with saying that——“ Great pains had been taken to keep the members of the “ society from attending.” I am confident Mr. Wilkes cannot produce a single Antigallican who was desired not to attend. The meeting, it is true, was not more than one *fourth* in number compared to what it used to be. Mr. Wilkes’s presence thinned the meeting; which was composed chiefly of his own little *phalanx*, as he *the general* (perhaps *the prince*) with singular modesty has called them in a letter signed with his name. Happily as yet Mr. Wilkes can only brand honest men with the reproach, but cannot inflict the punishment, of *desertion* from *his* mock-majesty.

I am proud of being called a *Deserter* from Mr. Wilkes’s standard; I thought we were all volunteers together, fighting only under the *laws* and the *constitution*; and under those leaders will serve till death: If any person has ever mistaken me for one of General Wilkes’s *phalanx*, I desire to be considered by him as

April 26.

A DESERTER.

Saturday, April 27.

YOUR correspondent of yesterday could not have chosen a more fit name for himself than that of *A Deserter*. He has basely left those friends, and that public cause, which he pretended to have always at heart, and has engaged with the most desperate faction of the state, to whom he now reveals the *secreta unum-*

portant secrets which were unavoidably entrusted to him; for his defection and apostacy were foreseen and foretold. One effect only of any consequence has followed his *desertion*. Discord left the Society when he quitted it. Harmony and unanimity have returned to the patriotic band, from whence his intrigues and cabals had long driven them. The whole Society now breathe the same pure love of their country, and are animated with the same noble zeal for the common cause of liberty. The *deserter* is desired ever to continue with the *enemy of all good men*. His dark, jesuitical designs are only suited to the dangerous conspiracies of Malagrida. *How art thou fallen, Oh! Lucifer!*

The *Deserter* proceeds uniformly in his old way of sophistry and fallhood.

“ Destroy his fib or sophistry in vain,

“ The creature’s at his dirty work again.”

He says, “ The meeting of the Antigallicans was not “ more than one *fourth* in number compared to what “ it used to be.” From the books it appears that the meeting of last Tuesday was one of the most numerous since the first establishment. Of the last year’s meeting it fell short only 28, notwithstanding all the arts and entreaties employed to keep the members away. He likewise asserts, “ Mr. Wilkes *calls* his common- “ council together without informing them of the “ business he meant to bring before them; *fourteen* “ of them attend him; over the *table* he surprises

“ them with a sudden question ; those who have not formed any opinion upon it, and those who dislike it, are silent ; some one man approves and proposes his health as sheriff ; and this Mr. Wilkes calls an “ unanimous approbation.” Was Mr. Horne present ? I was, Sir, and declare the whole of this account an absolute fiction. Mr. Wilkes *did not call* the common-council together. It was the usual monthly meeting. The propriety of his being sheriff was started, and fully debated. Some objections were made, and solved, so much to the satisfaction of the whole company, that they expressed their unanimous approbation of the measure, and the warmest wishes for it’s success. Since that meeting, when they attended the Alderman with an address of thanks on the late occasion, they repeated the same sentiments, and it is remarkable that both the deputies, and every member of the common council was present. The *Defserter* knew that he was inventing a falsehood, for the affair had been stated in all the public prints. But when truth is against him, he must be against truth, and it is a perpetual war which he wages.

The *Defserter* declares, “ Sir Joseph Mawbey may think (as he not long since publicly declared) that to “ *pretend the public, when we mean only the private, is a pious fraud.*” No such thought was ever entertained by Sir Joseph Mawbey, no such expression ever passed his lips. The parson has most unjustly transferred to a character uncommonly pure and upright the ideas of his own selfish and treacherous mind.

But he feels *the strong antipathy of bad to good*, feasts on the sacrifice of a reputation unfilled to hour. The indignant world however will con- to do justice to a gentleman, who amid the ra- party and the storms of faction, has constantly : tained a perfect disinterestedness, and possesses the amiable qualities, with an enlightened understan- and a sincere attachment to the interests of his : try. The *Defender* says, "Sir Joseph Mawbey, "taken no share in any of the hard struggles "Mr. Glynn's business in the county." The *ferter* knows the fallhood of this assertion. B Sir Joseph had purchased his freehold for Midd he declared his purpose of subscribing to Mr. Gl election, *after the Brentford massacre*. Mr. F was present at this declaration. Some time wards he asked Sir Joseph very privately in the lery of the House of Commons, if he had yet scribed, as he had promised. Sir Joseph ansv that he had not, for he had not yet found the p opportunity. Mr. Horne then said, *I am great, of pocket, pray give me the money*. Sir Joseph ac ingly took out three Bank-notes and gave the Mr. Horne. Has this subscription ever been bri to account? Will Mr. Horne deny the fact? W aver that the generous and noble-spirited baron taken "*no share in any of the hard struggles Mr. Glynn's business in the county?*" Oh! St where is thy blush? I believe the Middlesex elc has been the best milch-cow which the minist New-Brentford ever stroked.

Mr. Horne doubts if any other gentleman, besides *Sir Joseph Mawbey*, and *the stewards*, walked in the procession. I will only tell him that *four gentlemen of his cloth* attended, not one of whom with *to dye it red with blood*, but who think and act suitably to their profession, as ministers of the gospel of peace.

After Sir Joseph Mawbey, the parson is pleased to serve up Mr. Adair. "When Mr. Adair sat down" (the account says) there was a general cry of—*the question, the question*. It always happens so where "this gentleman speaks." True, but never *till he sits down*. I have heard the question repeatedly and loudly called for, while Mr. Horne was *still standing*, long before he *would sit down*. Mr. Adair possesses his subject so entirely, that he often exhausts the matter, and nothing is left but to decide upon *the question*. But what has in fact happened to the tedious Brentford preacher? At the last general meeting of the county, after *two hours* panegyric on himself, he drove away the honest freeholders, with declarations that they came there to hear the business of the county discussed, and not to be tired with fulsome accounts of Mr. Horne's meritorious actions, accounts as absurd as they were false. The very mention of the Mile-End meetings ought to remind him of the mad rant of *dying his black coat red with blood*, and his promise of *kicking and cuffing the impostor*, not of *DINING* with him.

The parson says, "That Mr. Adair, as a faithful "counsel, should have informed the Antigallicans, that

“ when a sheriff refuses to make a return to a writ,
 “ there are methods to procure a legal return without
 “ him.” I desire him to produce a single instance,
 where the coroner, or any other officer of the county,
 can act, except to execute a process against the sheriff,
 or to impanel a jury in a cause where the sheriff is
 interested. If the sheriff is disobedient to a lawful
 command, he will be punished. If he should happen
 to die, the house of Commons must wait till there is a
 new sheriff. The parson goes on with his wonted
 insolence, “ Mr. Adair *ought to know*, that the sheriff
 “ is an officer in the election, from whom, as from
 “ other officers, a ready obedience is expected to the
 “ competent jurisdiction under which he acts ; that
 “ where the jurisdiction is competent, the officer must
 “ obey, and cannot do wrong ; his orders are his justi-
 “ fication ; and disobeying he cannot do right.” This
 is new and false doctrine. Suppose a writ upon a
 mistaken suggestion comes to the sheriff for the elec-
 tion of a knight of a shire, in the room of John
 Glynn, Esq. *deceased*. The sheriff sees Mr. Glynn
 alive before him. Is he to obey the writ ? Are *his*
orders his justification ? By obeying does he not do
wrong ? By disobeying does he not do right ? The cases
 alluded to are parallel. No vacancy *was* made by
 Mr. Glynn, no vacancy *can* be made by Mr. Luttrell.
 Even the death of Mr. *Luttrell* can have no more
 effect on the legal rights of election in the county of
 Middlesex than the death of *Buckborse*. The objec-
 tions drawn from the demise of the crown, or the dis-

resolution of the parliament, conclude as strongly against Mr. Oliver's being sheriff for the city as Mr. Wilkes.

The illiberality of the attack on a young gentleman of Mr. Adair's merit, and in his profession, is characteristical of Mr. Horne.

The *Defenter* is very angry that Mr. Wilkes did not, on the Tuesday, pay his compliments to Mr. Oliver in the Tower. He says, "The public are left
"to conclude either that Mr. Oliver has not made the
"same noble stand, &c. with the Lord-mayor; or
"that he is not now in the Tower; or that the gentlemen of the association disapproved Mr. Oliver's
"conduct; or that they were so forgetful as to pass
"him by." The public are too judicious to adopt either of these four *wise* reasons. Another immediately occurs. Mr. Wilkes, as grand-president, went with the Antigallicans to the Lord-mayor to desire his lordship to accept the presidentship of the ensuing year, *because* he had made a noble stand, &c. There was no direction from the Society about Mr. Oliver. I suppose that gentleman's conduct to Mr. Wilkes, either as a *public* or *private* man, deserved no *personal* compliment, beyond the line of duty. His attempts on the Alderman's common-council by his agent, Mr. Lovell, are not yet forgotten, nor a few other little anecdotes. Another falsehood is, "That
"Mr. Wilkes walked backwards and forwards among
"the trees in the interval." This writer never tells truth, even in the merest trifles. Mr. Wilkes came directly to the Lord mayor's apartments, and from

thence as directly proceeded to Mile-End, after he had finished his commission. The *Defenter* says, " Mr. Wilkes might as well have delivered his short speech " to the gentlemen at the Ship Tavern." What, when the *purport* and *tenor* were to desire the Lord-mayor's leave to nominate him as grand-president of the ensuing year? This remark favours more of folly than of knavery. The *Defenter* ascribes it to Mr. Wilkes, " That you will generally find that *this* ward " and *that* ward, with their maces and beadles, &c. " waited on the Lord-mayor with *this* and *that* address, to which his lordship made such and such " answers; but you will seldom find any address to " or answer from Mr. Alderman Oliver." I have examined the papers, and I find as many addresses to Mr. Alderman Oliver as to the Lord-mayor, although not quite so many *answers*, nor quite so civil, as *that* to the *Committee* for instance. The reason I take to be, that the Lord-mayor is always on the spot, and makes his own answers. The Alderman is to summon his secretary, the priest, from a distant *unobtainable*, and in the interval the opportunity is frequently lost. In this business *of the printers*, Mr. Oliver has acted honestly, Mr. Horne treacherously. He betrayed the public cause, because Mr. *Townsend* would not act in it, as he had not the support of any great man.

The *Defenter* says, " Mr. Oliver knows the impostor and his designs, and will not either abet or " conceal his roguery, or be involved in his disgrace,

"or trust his character in such treacherous hands." Mr. Oliver is *dared* to reveal all he knows of Mr. Wilkes, so is Mr. Horne. The truth will do Mr. Wilkes the highest honour: falsehood will cover his enemies with disgrace. He calls upon them to tell all they know. He challenged Mr. Horne to this publicly at the last meeting of the Bill of Rights, but had no reply. In the Public Advertiser of Nov. 15, with his name to the paper, he addressed these words to Mr. Horne: "I call upon you to speak out in plain terms, to state your facts fairly and fully, and to set your name to the charges you bring. You shall then have an answer, and a proof that truth and I are a match for any two." Has the parson ever replied a single word to this hour? Mr. Oliver passed generally two days in every week with Mr. Wilkes in the King's Bench for the two years he was in prison, and has been very frequently with Mr. Wilkes before and since. Let him shew a single *speck* he has discovered in Mr. Wilkes's public conduct. He knows he cannot with truth, and he will not, I trust, either bring a false charge, or equivocate.

It is endless, Sir, to go through the falsehoods of the *Defetter*. Serjeant Glynn yesterday publicly denied what is mentioned of him, so did Mr. Wilkes the pretended declarations he is said to have made about the present Lord-mayor.

The *Freeholders' book* is a most important article. The present book is known to be scandalously deficient, and very incorrect. A new one has long been

wished. I hope the constables will be made to do their duty, and that the next sheriffs will not neglect their's. This is the greatest service can be done the county, and the surest way to prevent the *packing of juries*, at which the ministerial agents are now very expert, from their perfect knowledge of the present book. I have never heard any reason assigned why Mr. Townsend and Mr. Sawbridge did not prepare a new book in their sheriffalty.

Mr. Wilkes is charged by the *Defenter* with "changing a generous public society into a sponge to be "squeezed only into his pocket," and that now he sees "men *recoil*." He knows all the manoeuvres employed. The pretext was the *restrictive* resolution, yet not one of the seceders moved the *repeal* of that resolution, but the *dissolution of the Society*. The other proposition surely ought to have been tried first. Several gentlemen accepted a public trust, received large benefactions from the public, then came on a fixed time with a declared resolution of dissolving the Society before any account was, or could be given, to the public. The *restrictive* resolution was afterwards repealed at the motion of Mr. Wilkes, and would probably before at the motion of any of the seceders, but they declared they *would* have the Society dissolved, and cared for nothing else. Some of their own friends then *recoiled* on them, and the question was lost.

The *Defenter* talks of the *prince of a phalanx*. What, or who, is the *prince of a phalanx*? The

parson well knows the *prince of darkness*; will he make the *darkness* of that strange expression *visible* to us? He talks ridiculously of Mr. *Wilkes's standard*, when Mr. Wilkes himself fights under another *standard*, the standard of *Liberty and the People*, despising all little factions and private cabals.

Is Mr. Wilkes the creature of any *great man*? But is it not a fair question to Mr. *Horne*, Mr. *Townsend*, and a very few more, *Cujum pecus? an Malagridæ?*

The *Deserter* most profanely in a common newspaper brings in "the voice of the eternal God, to whom the secrets of all hearts are open." Does this *parson* really believe in God? Or does he, like Mr. Samuel Vaughan, only bring his Maker on the scene for the most shameful purposes of self-interest and private ambition? Ask Mr. Alderman Oliver what he has heard on this subject, *long before the present contest*? Ask Mr. Robert Jones, Mr. Charles Martyn, Mr. Wilkes, &c. It was reserved for the present age to produce *two* such new monsters, stranger than any the *Nile* ever saw, the *atheist parson*, and the *methodist baron*.

The parson adds, "Mr. Wilkes with a scandalous and fulsome flattery calls *the voice of the people the voice of God*," whom he falsely asserts that Mr. Wilkes ridicules. Afterwards he says, "Let Mr. Wilkes learn to suspect that there may be more *understanding* in the people collectively than *he has hitherto supposed*." I will leave this profligate priest to reconcile so manifest a contradiction. In

answer to what he calls a *scandalous and fulsome flattery*, I shall give him the fine words of the *Declaration of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, assembled at Nottingham in 1688, to assist the prince of Orange drawn up by the great Lord Somers.* “ We doubt not of all honest mens assistance, and humbly hope for and implore the great God’s protection, that he will turneth the hearts of his people, as pleaseth him best; it having been observed that people can never be of one mind without his inspiration, which hath in all ages confirmed that observation, *Vox Populi est vox Dei.*”

S T E A D Y.

To Mr. J O H N W I L K E S.

S I R,

THE reasoning of A DESERTER in the Public Advertiser of last Friday filled my mind with very strong suspicions concerning the fairness and integrity of your conduct towards the public: Instead of the “ openness of a frank nature,” which you have modestly given to yourself in several letters signed with your name, I thought I could perceive in your measures all the low arts and little cunning which characterize the modern Jefferies. However I waited for your explanation; and seeing a promise of STEADY in answer to a DESERTER, I concluded, by your taking *three* days for a reply, that I should yesterday

have seen such a one as would at least have made me admire your ingenuity, if not approve your conduct. You have disappointed me, Sir, for the last time. I find

“ ’Tis highest Heaven’s command,
 “ That fordid aims should folly’s paths pursue ;
 “ That what enslaves the heart should curb the hand,
 “ And virtue’s faithless foes be false to wisdom too.”

Instead of a defence, you treat us with the coarsest language, and the most virulent unsupported charges against Mr. Horne. What have the livery of London, or the freeholders of Middlesex, to do with Mr. Horne or his character ? He shall, if you please, unite in himself all those inconsistencies with which you charge him.

He shall be an atheist, and a jesuit, and a protestant at the same time :

He shall be the creature of Malagrida, and yet dine with Col. Luttrell :

He shall be the most profligate man on earth, and yet of so serious a disposition as never to laugh :

He shall be carried headlong by a blind passion for revenge, and yet be guided only by views of private interest :

He shall be so ignorant and senseless as to have brought home with him only the vices of Italy, and left it’s policy behind ; in short, so stupid an *Iago in crape*, as to be able to succeed only with the *foolish gentleman Roderigo* ; and yet capable by his intrigues

and cabals to throw a whole Society into discord and confusion, and by arts of treachery and smooth-tongued falshood to embroil the firmest friendships.

To sum up all, the friendship of this creature (if such a creature could exist) shall be the "greatest blessing and honour of your life;" and shall be declared to be so by you who draw this monstrous picture.

But what is all this to us or to the present question? If you wish to obtain the assistance of one sensible man upon the present occasion, you must convince his understanding by cool arguments on the subject, and not by foolish raving against a poor, private, insignificant country parson. The business lays in a short compass: 1. It was your duty first to have taken the sense of your constituents, the generous freeholders of Middlesex, and to have enquired whether they had any reasons to wish you should at this time be a candidate for the office of sheriff: 2. After you had received their instructions on this nice point which so materially affects them, and had at least obtained their *consent*, you would then have done well to have offered your own reasons fairly to the livery of London why they should at this time elect you.

Is this the method you have pursued? Very far from it. You have most ungratefully neglected the duty which you owe to the one; and most shamefully attempted a gross imposition on the other.

To the freeholders you have no excuse: you have had time enough to collect their opinions individually. When you first went into the King's Bench, you la-

mented particularly to your constituents, that you were deprived of the satisfaction of returning personally to each freeholder your thanks for the favours conferred; when you came out of the King's Bench, your addresses and declarations represented you as ready to fly on the wings of gratitude to discharge at least this debt of thanks. How little conformable have your words been to your actions! You have now been upwards of a twelvemonth at liberty; but instead of discharging this old debt, you were all the summer, attended by two or three *French* servants, running about from watering-place to watering-place, to Tunbridge, to Margate, to Brighthelmston, &c. contracting new debts, and meanly borrowing from hand to mouth, the sums sufficient to carry you from diversion to diversion; whilst overloaded as you were with debts, you had at the same time a town-house and a country-house, and your daughter at Paris, all to be supported at the public expence; by the subscriptions of honest men who walked on foot, and who for your sake denied themselves and their families, not only the luxuries, but some of them, the conveniences of life. Sir, when your best friends have urged you to honest actions and to a tolerable œconomy, (which in other men would have been deemed an extravagance) you have often replied, that "Every man has a character of his own; and that Cæsar and Cardinal de Retz owed millions for each of your hundreds." Very well! If it is necessary for the consistency of Mr. Wilkes's character that he should

not fulfil even this easy promise, nor pay even this poor debt of thanks, if it will be accepted, let that be your excuse. It will then follow that you could not take the sense of the county individually; but why could you not call a meeting of the county, and take the sense of the freeholders collectively?

Have you the foolish hope to palm upon the public the sense of a meeting of unapprized Antigallicans for the sense of the county of Middlesex? The freeholders, Sir, have not all of them, an understanding *enlightened* like that of Sir Joseph Mawbey; and the ministry will as easily be able to persuade us that the 296 placemen who chose Mr. Luttrell have given a real *representative* to the county, as that the vote of 142 *Antigallicans*, with the *new enlightened* freeholder Sir Joseph at their head, has declared the real *sense* of the county.

When I consider that you have not always kept company only with Sir Joseph Mawbey and Mr. Crosby, I am at a loss to guess from whom you have collected your opinion of the understanding of mankind; or how you could possibly imagine, that the pretences of a *freeholders' book*, and making *no return to a writ*, would impose upon the livery of London. It seems at last, by your own confession, your wonderful feats about the *freeholders' book* are confined to "*making the constables do their duty.*"

Your promise of a wilful refusal to make a return to a writ is something more serious; because upon your entrance into the office of sheriff you must not

only promise but swear, that "*you will truly RETURN all the king's writs.*" If Mr. Adair had known this, he would surely have forewarned you of this oath; nor would he have concealed from you or the Antigallicans the statutes of 8 Hen. 6. c. 7.⁴ and 23 Hen. 6. c. 14. If you should be chosen sheriff and fulfil your promise, you must be wilfully perjured; and you will, by the statutes I have quoted, incur the penalty of two hundred pounds; one to the king, and the other to him who shall sue; and you will likewise suffer a year's imprisonment.

I expect from the hardness of the falsehoods yesterday given under the signature of STEADY, that you will *three* days hence deny what I have quoted to be part of the sheriff's oath, or that there are any such statutes. It will be in vain, Sir. Your policy is now known to be as knavish as your POLICIES will shortly be discovered to be in the city.

A FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX.

April 30.

Tuesday, April 30.

YOUR correspondent of this day, or Mr. *Horne*, who signs a *Freeholder of Middlesex*, has grossly imposed upon you and the public. He says, "Mr. Wilkes upon entrance into the office of Sheriff must not only promise, but swear, *he will truly RETURN all the king's writs.*" If Mr. Adair had known this, he would surely have forewarned Mr. Wilkes

“ of this oath.” Afterwards he adds, that he expects, “ from the hardiness of the falsehoods yesterday given “ under the signature of *Steady*, that he will *three* days “ hence deny what I have quoted to be part of the “ Sheriff’s oath,” and “ If Mr. Wilkes fulfils his “ promise (*about the writ*) he must be wilfully per- “ jured, incur a penalty of 200*l.* &c. &c.” The impudence of this, and the attempt to impose in so barefaced a manner on mankind, are hitherto unparalleled. THERE ARE NO SUCH WORDS IN THE OATH TAKEN BY THE SHERIFFS OF LONDON. The town-clerk’s office has been examined, and the city’s original *book of oaths* been searched. The oath only speaks of NOT RETURNING *the writs till they have been shewn to the Mayor, &c.* It is printed faithfully in “ Sir William Mildmay’s method and rule of “ proceeding upon all elections, polls and scrutinies “ at common-halls and wardmotes within the city of “ London. Appendix, p. 19. printed at London, “ 1768.” “ *The writs that to you come touching the “ state and franchise of this city you shall not return “ till you have shewed them to the Mayor and the “ council of this city for the time being, and of them “ have advisement.*” No other mention is made of writs in the Sheriff’s oath. I believe a more shameful imposition was never attempted. What are we now to think of a cause, and a man, to be served by such infamy as the *falsifying* a solemn oath ?

In the account of the Mile-End meeting of Anti-gallicans it is said that Mr. Wilkes declared, “ If Mr.

“ Luttrell should vacate his *pretended* feat, and a new
 “ *pretended* writ should issue, he would pay no obe-
 “ dience to it, nor call the county together in conse-
 “ quence of an act void in itself, for it must proceed
 “ on a false supposition, on the lying pretext of Mr.
 “ Luttrell’s having a legal feat, &c.” Might not the
 Sheriff endorse the whole special matter on the back
 of it, and thus return the *writ*? Are there any words
 in the oath against such a mode of proceeding?

Your correspondent mentions an answer to him
 “ *Three* days hence,” and “ *Steady’s* taking *three*
 “ days for a reply.” I believe *Steady* rather came
too soon for Mr. Horne. Which of the charges has
 he yet ventured to deny? I will give him *three* months
 to clear up the affair of Sir Joseph Mawbey’s *three*
 bank-notes. The *Defender* appeared last Friday. The
three columns of *Steady’s* answer could not be got into
 Saturday’s paper from the pre-engagement of the prin-
 ter. He therefore announced it for Monday, when
 it appeared for the instruction of the little flock at
 Brentford.

He asks, “ What have the livery of London to do
 “ with Mr. Horne?” I am sure they neither have,
 nor wish to have, any thing to do with him. It was
 therefore strangely unbecoming in one of his friends
 to bring, in *Mr. Horne’s hand-writing*, to the com-
 mittee appointed to assist the Lord-mayor and two
 Aldermen, a letter proposed to be sent from them to
 Mr. Oliver, when at the same time he himself was
 brought to own that it was *mad* and *absurd*.

He talks of Mr. Horne as "a poor, private, insignificant *country parson*." Why does he not then attend the duties of this *country* parish? Has he not a cure of souls? When a clergyman himself appoints the day for the christening of a gentleman's child, and neither comes in person, nor takes care of another to do his duty, nor sends an excuse, he is guilty and insolent. When he leaves his parish, and in the morning goes to a tavern, and, among bottles and glasses, *jumps on a table* to harangue on a business in the decision of which he has no vote, he becomes at once impertinent and ridiculous.

I suppose *Steady* once thought Mr. Horne an *angel of light*, for he says to him, *How art thou fallen, oh, Lucifer!*

ANOTHER FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX.

TO MR. JOHN WILKES.

AND so, Sir, Mr. Horne has still greater crimes to answer for than *atheism*, *robbery*, and the *vice of Italy*. He has gone farther; he has even neglected the duty of his church; he has not christened the children, and he jumps upon tavern tables amongst bottles and glasses. You may safely give him three months more to clear up these matters, after he has accounted for Sir Joseph's *three bank-notes*. Well, let him look to himself; till he can procure your certificate of his piety, I promise you he shall not have my vote to be

chaplain to the Lord-mayor. Let us keep at present to the point in question. You have given a part of the oath taken by the Sheriffs of *London* at Guildhall, but you have not given the oath taken by the Sheriff of *Middlesex* at the Exchequer. In *Dalton's Sheriff* every reader may see the words I have quoted in the oath taken by all the Sheriffs of England; the same which I understand the Sheriff of *Middlesex* takes in the *Exchequer*. But even if this oath were away, there is a part of the oath taken by the Sheriffs of *London* at Guildhall, which answers the same purpose. It is this—"Ye shall well and lawfully keep the shires
 " of *London* and *Middlesex*; and the offices that to
 " the same shires appertain to be done well and lawfully,
 " ye shall do after your wit and power."

I shall not be surprized if you, Sir, should deny these words to be in the oath; or if you should trickingly say the Sheriff of *Middlesex* does not take *this* oath of the Sheriffs of *London*.

Dalton's Sheriff and *Sir William Mildmay's* book will satisfy all those who wish to be informed; and in *Dalton* they will see the method of punishing by law those who make false, insufficient, or no returns.

May 3.

A FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX.

To the Rev. Mr. H O R N E.

S I R,

Friday, May 3.

I N your letter of Tuesday, signed *A Freeholder of Middlesex*, you say to Mr. Wilkes, " Upon your

“ entrance into the office of Sheriff you must not only
 “ promise but swear that *you will truly return all the*
 “ *king's writs*. If Mr. Adair had known this, he
 “ would surely have forewarned you of this oath.”
 Afterwards you add, “ If you should be chosen Sheriff,
 “ and fulfil your promise, you must be wilfully per-
 “ jured ;” and, with an air of triumph, you say,
 “ I expect from the hardness of the falsehoods yester-
 “ day given under the signature of *Steady*, that you
 “ will *three* days hence deny what I have quoted to
 “ be part of the Sheriff's oath.” Now, Sir, I en-
 close an attested copy of the Sheriff's oath, and you
 are reduced to the dilemma, either of pointing out
 the words you have quoted, or of standing convicted
 of having *falsified* the Sheriff's oath. Is it your
 proof of Mr. *Adair's* ignorance, that he does not
 know *all* your *forgeries* ?

In your letter of this day you quote *Dalton* and
 Sir *William Mildmay* : “ In Dalton's Sheriff every
 “ reader may see the words I have quoted in the oath
 “ taken by all the Sheriffs of England ; *the same which*
 “ *I understand the Sheriff of Middlesex takes in the*
 “ *Exchequer* ;” and afterwards, “ *Dalton's Sheriff*
 “ and Sir *William Mildmay's* book will satisfy all those
 “ who wish to be informed.” I have not *Dalton* ;
 but I will give you proof, *damning proof*, from your
 other book, Sir *William Mildmay* : “ The Sheriffs
 “ elect must be careful to attend in person at the eve
 “ of Michaelmas-day, even though that should hap-
 “ pen to be Sunday, at the court of Hustings at Guild-
 “ hall, and there take the *ancient oath of office* unto

“ the citizens of London, and *not that oath* which is
 “ prescribed by the 3d of George I. chap. 15, to be
 “ taken by all other Sheriffs; for, as the Sheriffs of
 “ London are elected, and not constituted by letters-
 “ patent, they are excused from taking any oaths unto
 “ the king, excepting those of allegiance and su-
 “ premacy.” Page 160.

Now, Sir, for your subterfuge about the *Exchequer*.
 The same Sir *William Mildmay* says, “ It is particu-
 “ larly provided, by the charters of Edward I. and
 “ Charles I. *that the Sheriffs of London shall not be*
 “ *compelled to take ANY OATH AT THE EXCHEQUER,*
 “ except upon yielding up their accounts.” Page
 161. What subterfuge have you now for Monday?
 What new proof will you give the world of your
accuracy, or good faith?

ANOTHER FREEHOLDER OF MIDDLESEX.

The following is an exact COPY of the OATH
 taken by the Sheriffs of *London and Middlesex*
 annually on the 28th day of September.

YE shall sweare that ye shalbe good and true
 unto our soveraigne lord the king of Great Britain,
 and vnto his heires and successors, and the fraunchise
 of the citty of London, within and without ye shall
 faue and maynetayne to your power. And ye shall
 well and lawfully kepe the shires of London and Mid-
 dlesex, and th’offices that to the same shires pertayne
 to be done well and lawfully ye shall doe after your
 witt and power, and right ye shall doe as well to

poore as riche. And good custome ye shall none breake, ne evil custome arrere. And th'affize of breade, ale, and all other victualls within the fraunchise of this citty and without, well and lawfully ye shall kepe, and doe to be kept. And the judgements and execucons of your courte ye shall not tary without cause reasonable, ne right shall ye none disturbe. And the writs that to you come towching the state and fraunchise of this citty, ye shall not returne till ye haue shewed them to the maior and the counsell of this citty, for the tyme being, and of them haue advisement. And ready ye shalbe at reasonable warnyng of the maior for keping of the peace and mayntayning the state of this citty, and all other things that longen to your office, and the keping of the said shires lawfully ye shall doe by you and yours. And the citty ye shall kepe from harme after your power and the shire of Middlesex, ne the goale of Newgate ye shall not lett to ferme. As God you help.

A true copy, examined by me,

JAMES HODGES,

To Mr. JOHN HORNE.

SIR,

IN your letter of yesterday you promise to give the public a history of the commencement, progress and conclusion of the intercourse between you and Mr. Wilkes.

This history is expected, and it is also expected that you (for once) act the part of a faithful historian, in which case it is apprehended you will derive but little honour from your work.

But you are desired to give the public also an account of the commencement of your intercourse with Mr. Townsend; in which account it is hoped you will not forget *the curious character* you gave of that gentleman to those of your then acquaintance, to whom you introduced him.

You may enrich your narrative by way of episode (or give it as a digression to relieve your readers) with a sketch of the Middlesex contest between Glynn and Proctor; and after (for the hundredth time) enumerating your own services, you may state the character you gave of the worthy lawyer, which you finished by saying, *you knew not which was most contemptible, his head or his heart.*

You may also, when you state the *conclusion of the intercourse* between you and Mr. Wilkes, inform the public whether you took offence at any, and what part of Mr. Wilkes's public conduct; whether you were thereby induced to *conclude your intercourse* with him, or whether you have not been drawing to that conclusion ever since your acquaintance with Mr. Townsend, and whether you did not at that period frequently declare, *that the cause would rise, but that Mr. Wilkes MUST FALL; for that he had an opinion of his own, but that others were now found, less able indeed, but much more ductile.*

In the course of your history I may furnish you
with other hints for the improvement of it.

Your Old Correspondent,

May 17.

S C O U R G E.

ANECDOTES relative to WILKES and HORNE.

WHEN the Scotch junto had failed in their repeated attempts upon the life of Mr. Wilkes, through the cowardice of a 'Talbot ^a,—the help of a good constitution during his close confinement in the Tower, in extreme hot weather, and a very small room, without permission to open a window for air;—the *hair-breadth* escape of the premeditated bullet of Samuel Martin ^b;—and (*if possible*) the baser hands of the assassins Dunn and Forbes ^c;—they had recourse to that vile art and cunning which has ever characterised that perfidious nation.—Dr. *Demaimbray* ^d, a *Swiss*

^a Lord Talbot, who is STILL Lord-steward of his majesty's household.

^b Samuel Martin, treasurer to the Princess-Dowager of Wales; 1000 l. a-year in present, and 2000 l. in reversion.

^c The son of a Scotch rebel, made a Colonel in the Portuguese service, by PARTICULAR recommendation of our court.

^d A Swiss schoolmaster. He instructed the king in SPELLING and the MATHEMATICS; for which, and other services, he enjoys places in the customs, &c. to the amount of near 2000 l. a-year, in express violation of the act of our glorious deliverer, King William, which declares, that "No foreigner shall enjoy any office of trust, civil or military." The same act settled the crown upon the present royal family, 1701.

by birth, and who, by some strange fatality, was, and *is still*, too near the person of our sovereign, and always much careffed by Lord Bute and his party, was applied to, to find out a proper person to send over as a *spy* upon Mr. Wilkes's conduct, then at Paris. A very proper one immediately presented himself, *his brother-in-law, the Reverend Mr. Horne, minister of New-Brentford*. But to carry the plan into execution with more certainty of success, and to get introduced to Mr. Wilkes's friends here, Mr. Horne was directed to make some sort of publication against Lord Bute and his party, which was the pamphlet Mr. Horne alludes to, and *now* calls *foolish*, in his fourth letter to Mr. Wilkes. It was likewise agreed that there should be the strongest appearance of animosity between Dr. Demaimbray and Mr. Horne. Furnished with these materials, the Reverend spy called several times on a particular friend of Mr. Wilkes, and endeavoured to form an acquaintance with him, but that gentleman long refused any communication with him; at last, however, being assured of his integrity by an honest gentleman whom the parson had previously deceived, he gave him letters of recommendation to Mr. Wilkes at Paris—and here begun their acquaintance. Mr. Horne was received with that frankness and civility by Mr. Wilkes, which naturally attend an honest unsuspecting heart; and Mr. Horne took every opportunity of ingratiating himself into his favour. He did not, however, stay long at Paris, but from Montpellier he writ Mr. Wilkes *a letter*, extracts of which

have been printed in Mr. Wilkes's answers to Mr. Horne's late virulent attacks. And here I must remark, that this was a part of the *original* plan; viz. that of cloaking his designs upon Mr. Wilkes under the ostensible abuse of his inveterate enemies; for no man in his senses would have written such a letter, and kept a copy of it, upon so slight an acquaintance, if he had not been assured by his *employers* that no harm should happen to him, and if he had not *plenary indulgence* for every thing he should do. Mr. Horne never gave the least assistance to Mr. Wilkes in his canvas for the city of London; when the party found Mr. Wilkes was likely to carry the Middlesex election, they thought it a proper time to employ this Machiavelian agent: He, indeed, appeared *Mr. Wilkes's friend*, but was, in reality, *their spy*; witness, amongst other things, the great care he took of *Colonel Luttrell*, in protecting him from the just fury of the people at *Brentford*, and his *intimacy* with him at *present*. When the petitions for the counties of Middlesex and Surry were agitated, he acted the true Malagrida part, pretending to support them, but at the same time doing every thing in his power to damn them. His behaviour was the same in respect to the remonstrances for the cities of London and Westminster; yet, notwithstanding all his art, these measures, by the spirit of the people, and by the activity of Mr. Wilkes and his friends, were carried into execution. The laudable Society of the Bill of Rights became then an object of attention to the Scotch junto, as

there was the greatest probability that Mr. Wilkes, after his discharge from his long and cruel imprisonment, would be made happy and independent; the parson was ordered to sow the seeds of dissention amongst the members, which he effected, through the infidelity of some, and the timidity and inexperience of others (to say no worse of the *seceding* members.) But now comes the great, *the important crisis*, when the grateful citizens of London are to shew their regard for the undaunted hero of the cause of public liberty, by electing him to the office of Sheriff, the very idea of which is unsupportable; the black agent is now to throw off the mask, and appear in open arms; no costs are to be spared, no more than invectives; Dr. Demaimbray and Dr. Horne have shaken hands; they are frequently together in the royal *observatoire in Richmond-Gardens*, and *the privy-purse is opened*; they supped *en famille* on Friday, together, when *four hundred* pounds were produced to pay a bond of the parson's, by order of the ****. He is to be amply provided for by the crown, and at present he is quartered upon DURHAM to live in clover.

J A I R U S.

P. S. Let those deny the foregoing facts that are able so to do. Oh, citizens! Will you be duped by such infamous traitors? Forbid it, Heaven! Forbid it, genius of England and liberty!

June 20.

Mr. Alderman WILKES's Speech to the Livery of London, on the Declaration of the Sheriffs at Guildhall, July 3, 1771.

GENTLEMEN and FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I THANK you for the honour you have done me, and congratulate you on the complete triumph of this day over the corrupt arts of a profligate administration, the most barefaced bribery and daring menaces, the many shameful practices of the wretched tools of arbitrary power among us, the insolent mandates of placemen, and the treachery of the pretended friends of liberty and their country. Your firmness and zeal have crushed the united forces of all those who meant to enslave this great city. I have not the least doubt that the same happy union among ourselves will always remain a firm barrier against every future attack, from the concealed and insidious friend, or the open enemy.

Permit me to assure you of the closest attention to every part of my duty, and the faithful discharge of my office. One particular only I must entirely leave to my worthy colleague, as I am incapable of acting. *Petitions* from this city to the House of Commons I cannot present at the bar of that house, because I am actually a part of the representative body of this kingdom, being one of the legal members for this county. The independent and spirited freeholders of Middlesex have given me as clear a right to a seat in parliament, as the electors of any other knight of a shire of England can give to any gentleman. By

the most atrocious injustice of a *majority*, placed and pensioned by the venal influence of the minister, I am deprived of the enjoyment of that right, in direct violation of the noble privileges of a free people. My legal claim however is clear, and shall on all occasions be supported with spirit.

The Sheriffs, Gentlemen, merit all our thanks for their attentive, upright, and impartial behaviour during the course of a tedious poll. To a thorough knowledge of business they joined the utmost fairness and candour. In the whole of their proceedings they have secured the approbation of the public. Their conduct cannot at any time be excelled; but I hope it will be equalled, at least by those who, through your favour, are to be their immediate successors.

The Speech of **FREDERICK BULL, Esq.**

GENTLEMEN of the LIVERY, and FELLOW-CITIZENS,

PERMIT me to acknowledge to you the sense I have of the honour you have now called me to, and I cannot but think myself the more obliged, as it was unsolicited by me.

I should not in these alarming times have waited to be asked to accept, could I have thought myself equal to, this important office. However, Gentlemen, as you have been pleased to fix upon me, give me leave to assure you, I will do every thing in my power, to preserve the peace, and to promote the welfare, the honour, and independence of the city of London.

Mr. HORNE's XIIth Letter continued fr
Page 216.

GIVE you joy, Sir. The parson of Brentford at length defeated. He no longer rules with an absolute sway over the city of London. You have tested his jesuitical deep-laid schemes of running av with the monument on his back. You have rescu the prostrate livery from his dictatorial authori have congratulated them on their victory ; and stored to them a perfect liberty—of doing whate *you* please. The poor parson has been buffeted on hustings where he did not appear, and hissed out playhouses which he never entered ; he has been si down in the streets, and exalted to a conspicuous c ner with the pope and the devil in the print-sho and finally, to complete the triumph over this mig adversary, you have caused him to be burnt in effi

After all this outcry, no doubt, you imagine

there is

*No poet acquainted with more shakings and quaking.
Towards the latter end of his new play
(When he's in that case that he stands peeping 'twi.
Curtains so fearfully that a bottle of ale
Cannot be open'd but he thinks somebody hisses)
Than I am at this instant.*

Formerly these arts used to be practised against minister of state, or at least against some person wh

wealth and power might afford a pretence for suspicion of undue influence ; but if so insignificant a name as mine can, by paragraphs, &c. be made important enough to scare them with apprehensions for their independence, you will never want a bugbear for the livery. You are heartily welcome to the use you have made of it, and I shall freely forgive you a repetition of the same indignities, as long as you confine them to the news-papers and effigy : But, alas ! all the honours and preferments you have heaped upon me have likewise been only in effigy : His grace of Grafton invites me to no conference ; Lord North admits me to no levee ; the Exchequer with-holds my pension ; and the bishop of Durham will not let me touch one farthing of my quarterage. So that I have nothing left to console me but the support of the Shelburne faction, the recovery of my old clothes, the subscriptions I have pocketed, and Sir Joseph's three bank-notes.

When first I began my public correspondence with you, I engaged to give an account of the *commencement, progress and conclusion* of the intercourse between us ; because, from the circumstances of the relation, honest men of any tolerable discernment will be able to form a judgment how far they ought, and how far they ought not to support you. You engaged on your part to give a *full answer* to every charge I should bring. *I mean to keep my promise* ; and though I thought it proper to forbear the prosecution of it during the city election, I shall now proceed : The

deep researches, laborious study, and prodigious science necessary to qualify you for the office of Sheriff, will excuse you from giving any answer; and leave you at liberty to lye anonymously in the news-papers without detection.

When the motion was made at the London Tavern of "NO NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS for the future for ANY OTHER PURPOSE WHATSOEVER, until ALL the debts of John Wilkes, Esq. should be fully discharged," after a pause of some minutes, Mr. — rose, and said he had waited in momentary expectation that Mr. Wilkes would have taken the opportunity to entreat his friend to withdraw a motion so fatal to the reputation both of Mr. Wilkes and the Society: He expressed his amazement that Mr. Wilkes could silently hear a measure proposed which could produce nothing but disgrace to both; but he said it was impossible Mr. Wilkes could continue silent upon the subject, unless he was willing it should be understood that this attempt to impose upon the public and the Society proceeded from himself. Mr. — said, that since the subscription for Mr. Bingley had very much offended Mr. Wilkes, and was the avowed reason of this motion to prevent any "NEW subscriptions for the future for any other purpose whatsoever," he would endeavour to satisfy them of the propriety of that subscription, and the impropriety of the present motion: Mr. Bingley had above a year before repeatedly sent petitions to the Society, which Mr. — had as often deferred, in expectation

of finishing Mr. Wilkes's affairs, and from a desire that nothing might interfere to prevent it ; but when it was evident that a party was formed to avoid coming to any conclusion, even after THREE years attention to that single object, it would have been cruel to the poor man to have deferred any longer the generous intentions of several gentlemen towards him. But there was a much stronger reason than private compassion against any farther delay ; *the freedom of the press* was materially concerned in moving the subscription for Bingley at the last meeting. Mr. — said, he was sorry to be forced to mention transactions which ought to be kept secret, and to explain motives which ought to be understood but not expressed in large companies ; however, that rather than see his intentions of public good defeated by this *restrictive resolution*, he would tell them his chief motive for moving the subscription at the last meeting : Mr. — said, he had some small time since received information from an authority which he could not doubt, that a certain great personage had conversed with the *elder Onslow* at St. James's near half an hour ; that in that conversation it was mentioned to Mr. Onslow as matter of surprize, that the House of Commons permitted their debates to be published ; and it was asked, if it was ever suffered before, and why something was not done to prevent it ? This question from such a person was well understood to be an order ; and after the repeated failures of Lord Mansfield in the courts of law, both by *information* and *attachment*, it was easy to see

whither they would next have recourse to destroy the freedom of the press. It was plain Mr. Onslow understood it ; for soon after, on the *fifth* of *February*, his cousin, the *younger Onslow*, made a motion in the House of Commons, that an order of that house against printing any part of the debates should be read and entered amongst the minutes of that day. Mr. — said, this was a confirmation to him of his intelligence, and increased his suspicions of what was to follow ; he said, he had therefore himself *purposely* caused to be inserted in the *Middlesex Journal* of *February 7*, an innocent paragraph of Mr. Onslow's motion ; expecting that *the Onslows* would bring it before the house ; which happened as it was foreseen ; for the printers, *Whittle* who first inserted, and *Thompson* who copied that paragraph, were ordered to attend the House of Commons. In this interval the Society met (on the 12th of February), before the order of attendance to the printers was expired ; and Mr. — chose that particular moment to move the subscription for Bingley, in order to encourage the printers (whom it was necessary to use on this occasion against the usurped power of the house), and to shew them by this example that they too would be effectually supported, and rewarded for resisting an illegal and scandalous attempt upon the freedom of the press. Mr. — said, this subscription for Bingley did instantly produce the desired effect, and *both* the printers refused to obey ; and there was no doubt (the law being clear in the case, that a power of *punishment* cannot belong to the

House of Commons) that other printers would likewise depend upon the laws of their country and the support of that Society, and refuse obedience to any similar usurpation of the house over them: But, said Mr. —, should you now, Gentlemen, come to a resolution of NO NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS “ for the “ future for ANY OTHER PURPOSE WHATSOEVER “ until ALL Mr. Wilkes’s debts shall be fully discharged,” you will undo all that has been done; the *public* good effect of Bingley’s subscription will be lost; the printers will despair of support; and you cannot expect that they should be able alone and unsupported to oppose, however legally, the powers of government, which are now united against the rights of the people; even if they should, the contest would be too unequal, the printers would be undone, and the press ruined: He therefore entreated them to lay aside all little, factious, private views, and forbear a resolution which would certainly be productive of such bad consequences to the public and such dishonour to the Society.

He concluded with addressing himself again to Mr. Wilkes; he called upon his *policy*, his *public spirit*, his *gratitude*, his *modesty*; all which should strongly persuade him to shew his disapprobation of a motion which was to restrain gentlemen, who had done so much for him, from putting their hands in their pockets to relieve any other object of compassion, or to promote any public measure.

To all these arguments Mr. Wilkes was ably dumb ; no sense of shame could force a single from him ; and the resolution of *no new subscrip-
tion for the future but for Mr. Wilkes*, was carried
self being present, by the same gentlemen who
before voted against Bingley's subscription, and
other personal friends of Mr. Wilkes who had
brought thither for the purpose, amongst whom
his *two brothers*, his *attorney*, &c.

July 10.

JOHN HORNE

F I N I S.

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